

NOTES TO THE ELVAS NARRATIVE

by James A. Robertson

1. *Silveira*. Undoubtedly the Fernão da Silveira who died at Evora in 1569, the son of Francisco da Silveira. He fought in Africa and India; and on his return to Portugal was held in high esteem by Joao III and Queen Catharina. He was called the "heroic poet." His family, which was localized about Evora, produced a number of poets. See Maximiliano Lemos, *Encyclopedia Portuguesa Illustrada*, X, 162.

2. *Soto*. The best biography in English of Hernando de Soto is that by Theodore Maynard, *De Soto and the Conquistadores* (London, New York, and Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co., 1930). Soto's full name (see Antonio del Solar y Taboada and José de Rújula y de Ochotorena, *El Adelantado Hernando de Soto* [Badajoz, Spain: Ediciones Arqueros, 1929], pp. 29-34, 41-46, 53-60) was Hernán (Hernando, Fernando) Méndez de Soto y Gutiérrez Cardenosa; and on both sides he was descended from illustrious forebears. His parents were Francisco Méndez de Soto and Leonor Arias Tinoco, the latter of whom came from the city of Badajoz and was of Portuguese ancestry. Considerable confusion exists with regard to various details of his life. He is said, for instance, to have been born in Villanueva de la Serena, Villanueva de Barcarrota (today simply Barcarrota), the city of Badajoz, and Jerez de los Caballeros. The last place is probably the correct one for that was the home of his parents (see Solar and Rújula, pp. 38-39). Again, his birth has been placed as early as 1496 and as late as 1501. If he was forty-two at the time of his death, he must have been born in 1500 or 1501. His first journey to the new world probably occurred in 1519 instead of in 1514 as some say. In the Indies, he served under the notorious Pedrarias Dávila, by whom he was sent on several raiding and punitive expeditions, and, in 1524, he took part in the expedition against Gil González Dávila under the command of Francisco Fernández de Córdoba, during which he was captured and then released by the former. Later, he was made regidor of León, in Guatemala, and shortly after was invited to take part in the conquest of Peru. For this he furnished a contingent of men and a number of horses, and was considered next in importance after Francisco and Hernando Pizarro. He succeeded in capturing the last Inca ruler, Atahualpa (the Atabalipa of the text), and shared heavily in the spoils of the conquest. In Peru, he contracted relations with Leonor Coya, daughter of the chief Guaynacpac, by whom he had a natural daughter, also called Leonor (see "Testamento de Doña Leonor Coya," *Archivo de Indias*, 109-1-15-20/4; published in Solar

and Rújula, *ut supra*, pp. 191-197). While still in Guatemala he had formed a partnership with Hernán Ponce de León and Francisco Campañón, each obligating himself to share equally in all his possessions with the other two. The latter died shortly after the triple compact was made. A later agreement made with Ponce de León, however, became the matter of a long lawsuit between Ponce de León and his heirs and Isabel de Bobadilla. A copy of this latter agreement, dated at Cuzco, June 27, 1535, as reaffirmed at Havana, May 13, 1539, five days before the expedition left for Florida, is in AI, 50-2-55/10, Papeles de Justicia, no. 750 (a), pieza 1(2). fols. 56-62 (published in Solar and Rújula, *ut supra*, pp. 79-89; copy of the original contract of 1535 also among the Harkness Papers in the Library of Congress, *q.v.*, below). Shortly after his return to Spain in 1536, Soto married Isabel de Bobadilla (the daughter of Pedrarias), whose mother (also Isabel de Bobadilla) was a relative of that Beatrice de Bobadilla, the friend and confidante of Isabel the Catholic. It might be of interest to recall here that the sister of his wife had married Balboa, the discoverer of the Pacific, who was also from Jerez de los Caballeros. In Spain, prior to his departure on his Florida Expedition, he was admitted into the Order of Santiago (see Solar and Rújula, *ut supra*, pp. 123-155). By nature, Soto, although a product of his age, seems to have been far more humane than most of his contemporaries, but on occasion (and generally only when he deemed it necessary) he could be ruthless enough. He inspired almost unquestioning obedience in his followers, but by his rashness and lack of judgment at times, joined with a streak of obstinacy, notwithstanding many admirable traits, he seems to have lacked some of the qualities of a great leader. For accounts and estimates of Soto, see the following: Oviedo, in Bourne, *Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto*, II, 59; Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*; Buckingham Smith, *Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto* (New York, 1866), pp. ix-xxvi (reprinted in Bourne, *ut supra*, II, 169-192); Maynard, *ut supra*; and Francis Borgia Steck, *Neglected Aspects of the De Soto Expedition*, a reprint from *Mid-America*, July, 1932.

Among the papers of the Harkness Collection in the Library of Congress, three have reference to Soto: 1. A "Carta de compañía e hermandad," signed by Captains Hernán Ponce de León and Hernando de Soto: "a renewal and ratification of a fraternal partnership which had existed between them for eighteen or nineteen years, in which they agree to share whatever they may have or obtain by profit, mining, in war, or from any other source; also any royal commissions for offices or commands" (Cuzco, June 27, 1535; see above for mention of a third renewal of this contract). 2. A "Carta de poder" given by Ponce de León to Captain Hernando de Soto: "Full authority to recover gold, jewels, merchandise, horses, ships, negroes, Indians, and give receipts therefor; to conduct all phases of suits; to petition the Crown for offices and cédulas and *provisiones* of *haciendas* in reward for his services; to enter into contracts; to purchase and rent property; to appoint *procuradores* in his place and revoke such appointment" (Cuzco, July 12, 1535). 3. A "bill for merchandise" bought by Soto. The "items include velvet, silk, linen, satin, gloves, a velvet cap, a

brush, some thread. Some of them were taken by Roman, some by Piçarro, the tailor, and one item by De Soto's Indian" (July 10-31, 1536). See *The Harkness Collection in the Library of Congress. Calendar of Spanish Manuscripts Concerning Peru, 1531-1651* (Washington, 1932), compiled by Stella R. Clemence, Nos. 83, 86, and 97. Other papers are listed in the calendar of documents in Vol. II of *Catálogo de los Fondos Americanos del Archivo de Protocolos de Sevilla* (Madrid, 1930), published by the Instituto Hispano-Cubano de Historia de América. In the first (No. 222), dated February 27, 1538, "Don Fernando de Soto, adelantado of Florida and governor of the Island of Cuba, in the name of Nuño de Tovar, obligates himself to pay to Nicolas de Aramburu, acting for Pascual de Andagoya, regidor of Panama, two hundred ducats of gold, which the aforesaid Nuño de Tovar, in the name of the above-mentioned Andagoya collected from Pedro and Melchor de Espinosa" (the entire document is reproduced in Appendix VI, [ibid.] pp. 469-471). In the second (No. 469), dated January 8, 1540, "Captain Fernán Ponce de León, acting for Doña Isabel de Bobadilla, wife of Don Fernando de Soto, governor and captain general of the conquests of Florida and the island of Fernandina, gives his power of attorney to Francisco Hurtado and to Diego del Castillo, to solicit the certification of the 792,000 maravedis which were taken from him for his Majesty's service" (p. 112). In the third (No. 497), dated March 13, 1540, "Cristobal Francesquin and Diego Martínez, public bankers, acting for Don Hernando de Soto, adelantado of Florida, give power of attorney to Gonzalo de Herrera to collect for the aforesaid adelantado, the 300,000 maravedis *de juro* corresponding to the two preceding years" (reproduced in Appendix X, [ibid.] pp. 478-479). Much material, still unpublished in full, exists in the Archives of the Indies (AI) in Seville.

3. *Pedrarias Dávila*. His correct name was Pedro Arias de Avila. He was probably born at Segovia about the year 1440 and died at León, Nicaragua, in July, 1530. For information concerning his career, see Clement R. Markham's translation of Pascual de Andagoya, *Narrative of the Proceedings of Pedrarias Dávila in the Provinces of Tierra Firme or Castilla del Oro, and of the Discovery of the South Sea and the Coasts of Peru and Nicaragua* (Hakluyt Society Publications, No. XXXIV, London, 1865)—taking note that Markham's translations are not always above reproach; Martín Fernández de Navarrete, *Colección de los Viajes* (Madrid, 1825-1837); Helps, *Spanish Conquest in America* (London, 1861), I, 373-520, 76-86; Maynard, *ut supra*.

4. *Pizarro*. Probably Francisco Pizarro is meant here. Hernando (Fernando) Pizarro was the half brother of the great commander and of all the sons of their common father the only legitimate child. Francisco Pizarro, the conqueror of Peru, *marqués de las Charcas y de los Atabillos*, was born in Trujillo, Cáceres, in 1470, or somewhat later, and was assassinated in Lima, June 26, 1541. For information relative to his career, see Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*; Helps, *Spanish Conquest in America*; Rómulo Cúneo-Vidal, *Vida del Conquistador del Perú* (Barcelona, 1925); Maynard, *ut supra*. There are a number of Pizarro letters in the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, at San Marino, California. See also the calendar of *The Harkness Collection*

in the Library of Congress, for various material connected with Pizarro and his expedition; also the early Peruvian manuscripts in the New York Public Library.

Hernando Pizarro was born in Trujillo some time before Francisco and is said to have died in the same city in 1578. Reared to the profession of arms, he fought with his father in the Italian and other campaigns. He only (after Francisco Pizarro) exceeded Soto in authority during the Peruvian conquest. Before his death he apparently became blind (see Clemence, *The Harkness Collection*, p. 252, "Carta de poder," of May 25, 1578, given by Pizarro and his wife to Martin de Anpuero). Three documents concerning him are recorded in the *Catálogo de los Fondos Americanos del Archivo de Protocolos de Sevilla*, II, namely, Nos. 196, 451, and 606. See also Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*; and *Enciclopedia Universal* (Espasa), XLV, 183-184; and Cúneo Vidal, *ut supra*.

5. *Atabalipa*. That is, Atahualpa, the last Inca ruler.

6. *Cruzados*. The cruzado was a silver coin first minted in Castile during the reign of Enrique II. It took its name from the cross on the obverse. At first it was valued at one silver maravedí, but the value was later reduced to a third that amount. The cruzado of the text, however, was a later gold coin minted during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. At first this was equivalent to seven pesetas, but by the end of the seventeenth century, the value had risen to ten pesetas. A document of 1489 states that it was equal to a ducat. See *Enciclopedia Universal* (Espasa), XVI, 683; and Fray Liciniano Saez, *Demostración histórica del verdadero Valor de todas las Monedas que corrian en Castilla durante el Reynado del Señor Don Enrique IV* (Madrid, 1805), p. 283.

7. *Reales*. Hakluyt in his translation of the *Relaçam* (Virginia richly valued, London, 1609) says wrongly 60,000, as do the French translation of 1685 and the translation of the latter into English (1686). The real was a silver coin first minted in Castile. The earliest coin struck was probably equivalent to the sixty-sixth part of a marco (or 50 castellanos), but this was later changed by the Catholic Kings to the sixty-seventh part. The present real, which is no longer coined as such, is valued at twenty-five centimos. Values are still largely quoted in reals, especially by the common people. See *Enciclopedia Universal* (Espasa), XLIX, 1008-1009.

8. *Casa de Contratación*. The Casa de Contratación or India House of Trade intervened largely in the early Spanish expeditions to America. It was created by royal cédula of February 14, 1503, and was to consist of three officials, namely, a factor, a treasurer, and a notary (see Joseph de Veitia Linage, *Norte de la Contratacion de las Indias Occidentales*, Seville, 1672, pp. 2-3). See also Bernard Moses, "The Casa de Contratacion of Seville," in *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1894* (Washington, 1895), pp. 93-123.

9. *Juan de Añasco*. Juan de Añasco, who was evidently born in Seville, joined Soto there after the latter's return from Peru; and on the organization of the expedition was made its accountant, this being one of the royal official positions of the expedition. On November 14, 1536, he witnessed the "conveyance of dower by the widow

of Pedrárias Dávila to Hernando de Soto, in consideration of the espousal of her daughter" (see Buckingham Smith, *Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto*, p. 264, note). Smith also (p. 273) publishes a translation of a royal cédula of Valladolid, May 4, 1537, granting him authority to trade with the Indians of Florida "so long as there are no duties on imports in that province." On May 13, 1539, five days before the expedition left Havana for Florida, he witnessed two documents, namely the second renewal of the contract between Soto and Hernan Ponce de León, and the full authorization given by Soto to Ponce de León to redeem his right in the silks of Granada in which Soto had made an investment (see Solar and Rújula, *ut supra*, pp. 89, 206). On the day of departure from Havana, together with Juan Gaytán, the treasurer, and Luis Hernández de Biedma, the factor, he wrote to the king to the effect that Soto had been detained in Cuba longer than he had wished (see B. Smith, *ut supra*, p. 273). Soto, as is shown by the text, seems at all times to have reposed considerable reliance upon him.

10. *Luis Moscoso de Alvarado*. Luis Moscoso de Alvarado was born in Badajoz in 1505 and died in Peru about 1561. He was the son of Comendador Alonso Hernández de Diosdado and Isabel de Alvarado, inhabitants of Zafra (see Solar and Rújula, p. 329). He was a relative of Pedro de Alvarado and participated with the latter in some of his enterprises, thereby gaining considerable profit; and took part in the early Peruvian campaign. He later went to Spain, where he entered upon a life of dissipation and soon lost most of his possessions. He joined Soto's expedition and after the death of the latter led the remnant of the band to Mexico, reaching Pánuco on September 10, 1543. Two of his brothers, namely Juan de Alvarado and Cristóbal de Mosquera, accompanied him (see Solar and Rújula, p. 329). He witnessed the agreement made between Soto and Ponce de León at Cuzco, on June 27, 1535 (see *ante*, note 2); and on July 10, 1535, at Cuzco, he gave a "Carte de poder" to Antón Ruiz de Guevara "to claim and collect all gold, silver, jewels, Negro slaves, horses, and Indians belonging to him as assignee of Adelantado Pedro de Alvarado and to give letters of payment and quittance therefor, with full powers to act in any conflict arising therefrom" (see Clemence, *The Harkness Collection in the Library of Congress*, No. 90).

The only Tovar mentioned in the "Relacion de las Personas que pasaron a la Florida para la Empresa de Hernando de Soto" (see Solar and Rújula, pp. 275-334) is one Diego de Tovar, son of Rodrigo de Tovar and Beatrice de Segovia, inhabitants of Marchena (see p. 327). He is not mentioned in the list reproduced by Buckingham Smith of those who returned from Florida (Smith, pp. 292-299). Garcilaso de la Vega, *La Florida del Inca* (Lisbon, 1605), says (fol. 10) that Nuño Tovar was one of the sixty conquistadors of Peru and that he was a native of Xerez de Badajoz.

Juan Rodriguez Lobillo is called Johan Ruiz Lobillo by Rangel (see *post*, note 53). He is given in the list of those who returned from Florida, and the place of his residence as Ronda (see Buckingham Smith, *Narratives*, p. 296). A Juan Ruiz Lobillo gave a "Carta de poder" to one Beranga in Xauxa, Peru, on February 22, 1534 (see

Clemence, *The Harkness Collection*, No. 58). Documents Nos. 161 and 163 of *Catálogo de los Fondos Americanos del Archivo de Protocolos de Sevilla* also treat of Juan Ruiz Lobillo, former conquistador and settler of Peru. It is probable that this is the same man as the Juan Rodriguez Lobillo of our text.

11. *Isabel de Bobadilla*. See *ante*, note 2. She married Hernando de Soto in 1537. Upon his departure for Florida, Soto left her in virtual charge of the government of Cuba (but see *post*, note 46). She was an able and strong-willed woman. On the occasion of her marriage, her mother executed a document ("Escritura de dote y arras de Doña Isabel de Bobadilla") by which the dower given with her daughter amounted in value to six thousand ducats, and consisted of the cattle, mares, and their increase, as well as all the buildings of a ranch in Panama owned by Pedrarias Dávila (see Solar and Rújula, *ut supra*, pp. 157-166; original of this document in AI, 50-2-55/10, Papeles de Justicia, 750). Before he left Havana for Florida, Soto gave his wife (May 17, 1539) power of attorney, by which she was authorized to administer all his properties during his absence (see this in Solar and Rújula, pp. 167-177; original in AI, 50-2-55/10). On June 2, 1539, only about a fortnight after her husband's departure for Florida, Isabel, by virtue of the power of attorney given her, summoned Hernán Ponce de León by due course of law to state whether he were in accordance with the documents of partnership contract he had signed with Soto (see *ante*, note 2), for it had been reported that he had stated before royal notary that he had signed the contracts under compulsion (see Solar and Rújula, pp. 179-184; original in AI, 50-2-55/10). This was the beginning of the long lawsuit between these two and the heirs of Ponce de León. It is perhaps doubtful that Isabel died shortly after hearing of her husband's death.

12. *Conquer*. A long document of April 20, 1537 (conserved in AI, 32-4-29/35; another copy in 50-2-55/10), granted to Hernando de Soto the titles of governor, captain general, and adelantado of Florida. This specified fully the conditions under which the expedition was to be undertaken. Another royal decree of equal date conferred on him also the governorship of the island of Cuba (see *Colección de Documentos inéditos . . . de América y Oceanía*, XXII, 534-546; see English translation by Buckingham Smith in his *Narratives*, pp. 266-272). Another decree, dated Valladolid, May 4, 1537, also set forth that Soto was to be governor of Cuba during the period of the conquest, but that he was to appoint an alcalde mayor (who must also be a lawyer) to act as his agent during his absence (see *Col. de Doc. inéd. . . de Ultramar*, IV, 431-437; original in AI, 79-4-1). A separate decree of the same date (AI, 50-2-55/10) also granted him the titles of adelantado and captain general of Florida (see this in Solar and Rújula, pp. 289-290). By a decree of August 18, 1537, Soto was granted permission to take what food was necessary from Cuba (AI, 32-4-29/35) and on August 20, he was granted additional privileges (AI, *ibid.*). On August 14, 1543, a decree dispatched from Valladolid granted the title of governor of the island of Fernandina (an early name of the island of Cuba) to Licentiate Juanes de Avila in place of Soto, from whom no news had been received (*Col. de Doc. inéd. . .*

de Ultramar, VI, 190-195; original in AI, 46-4-1/33). Licentiate Bartolomé Ortiz had been alcalde mayor for Soto in Cuba (*Col. de Doc. inéd. . . de Ultramar*, VI, 204-209; original in AI, 47-2-23/18).

13. *Narváez*. Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, treasurer of the expedition of Pánfilo de Narváez to Florida in 1527, was one of four survivors of that expedition to reach Mexico. His narrative of 1542 will be reproduced in facsimile, with a new translation into English in a future volume to be published by the Florida State Historical Society. [The plans of the Florida State Historical Society to sponsor a new translation of the Cabeza de Vaca manuscript and to publish it were not realized. That failure is regrettable, as the translation into English by Fanny Bandelier is an extremely free one, although, for the Apalachee portion at least, her editing of Cabeza de Vaca's account is not as extensive as her prefatory warning to her readers might lead them to suspect. In those remarks, she noted that it was "impossible to follow the original more than remotely, and paraphrasing had to be resorted to."—JH] For information relative to the Narváez expedition, see Buckingham Smith, *Relation of Alvar Nuñez Cabeça de Vaca* (New York, 1871); Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements* (New York, 1901), pp. 172-212; and Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands* (New Haven, 1921), pp. 26-45.

14. *Dorantes*. Andrés Dorantes, one of the four survivors of the Narváez expedition.

15. *Reales*. Buckingham Smith in his translation, following Hakluyt (1609), the French translation of 1685, and the English of 1686, says wrongly 60,000 reales.

16. *Niece*. In his will, which is dated San Cristobal de la Habana, May 10, 1539, Soto makes provision for this relative as follows: "Also, I order that, inasmuch as I gave Isabel de Soto, my niece, in marriage to Don Carlos Enriquez, and it was arranged that I should give her at her marriage whatever dowry I might wish to give, I order that three thousand ducats be given him from my property, which are included in the dowry of marriage of the said Doña Isabel de Soto, my niece" (Solar and Rújula, p. 214). Buckingham Smith (*Narratives*, p. 276) also translates this passage of the will, but mistranslates "sobrina" as "cousin."

17. *Fernandez*. It has been generally assumed that one of these Portuguese who accompanied Soto was the author of the present relation.

18. [The Portuguese for the words Robertson rendered as "a rent of wheat," *pão de renda*, translated literally would be "bread of rent" or "bread revenue."—JH]

Geiras. A land measure denoting the area a team of oxen can plough in a day. By some it is given as a rectangle 120 x 240 feet. Roughly it might be considered as the equivalent of the French arpent or the English acre.

19. *Biedma*. The correct name is Luis Fernández de Biedma, not "Antonio" as here. He was appointed factor of the expedition by royal decree of Madrid, December 10, 1537; and his duties were outlined in a later decree of Valladolid, January 14, 1538 (original in AI, 32-4-29-35). He wrote a relation of the expedition which was published in a rather free French translation by Henri Ternaux-Compans (*Voyages Relations et Mémoires originaux pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Amérique*, Paris, 1841,

XX, 51-106). An English adaptation made from the French of Ternaux-Compans was published by B. F. French, *Historical Collection of Louisiana* (Philadelphia, 1850), and a translation from the same source appeared in William B. Rye, *Discovery and Conquest of Terra Florida* (London, 1851). It was published in Spanish for the first time by Buckingham Smith in *Collección de varios Documentos para la Historia de la Florida* (Londres, 1857); and in his *Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto* (New York, 1866), Smith published a new English translation (pp. 229-261). It was also published in Spanish in *Collección de Doc. inéd. . . . de América*, III, (1865), pp. 414-441. Fernández de Biedma also signed the letter from the royal officials to the Spanish monarch, written from Havana on May 18, 1539, announcing that the expedition was about to leave Cuba for Florida (see *Col. de Doc. inéd. . . . de Ultramar*, VI, 34-36; original manuscript in AI, 51-1-34, No. 1, and translation into English by Buckingham Smith, *Narratives*, pp. 281-282). His account (probably official) of the expedition is short, but on the whole an excellent report.

20. *Añasco*. See *ante*, note 9.

21. *Juan Gaytán*. A document in AI, 32-4-29/35, contains a decree of May 4, 1537, outlining the duties of the treasurer of the expedition, Diego de Corral, but this man evidently did not go on the expedition after all. Another decree in the same legajo is addressed to one Jorge Gaytán. Gaytán signed the letter of May 18, 1539 (see *ante*, note 19). He was one of those who returned from Florida (see Buckingham Smith, *Narr.*, p. 295, where he is mentioned as a native of Talavera la Reina).

22. *Six hundred men*. Fernández de Biedma says there were 620 men and 223 horses (see B. Smith, *Narr.*, p. 221). Solar and Rújula (pp. 275-334) give a list of those who went on the expedition—almost 650 in number. However, the list (original in AI, 45-1-1/17) is not altogether accurate, for the names of some who actually went do not appear; and others whose names are in the list evidently did not go. In the list, it is interesting to note, is the name of Juan Coles, the witness cited by Garcilaso de la Vega in his *La Florida del Inca*, who he said furnished him valuable material for his book. The entry relative to Coles is as follows: "Juan Coles, son of Juan Coles and Luisa Rodriguez, inhabitants of Zafra" (p. 323). All but three of the Portuguese mentioned in the text can be identified in this list, but they are mentioned as being inhabitants of Badajoz (probably in order to avoid any charge of taking foreigners on the expedition). Those who have been identified are André de Vasconcelos, Men Rodriguez (probably the "Mem" of the text), Alvaro Hernandez (for Alvaro Fernandez), Benito Hernandez (for Bento Fernandez), Juan Cordero (for Joam Cordeiro), and Esteban Pegado. See also *post*, note 24.

23. *Daughter*. The governor of the Canaries was a cousin of Isabel de Bobadilla, and his natural daughter was named Leonor. See Maynard, *De Soto and the Conquistadores*, p. 132.

24. *Whitsuntide*. The cabildo of the city of Santiago, in a letter of July 26, 1538 (abstract in *Col. de Doc. inéd. . . . de Ultramar*, VI, 36-37; and apparently given in full in B. Smith, *Narr.*, pp. 288-291, where he wrongly dates it 1539), mentions the

arrival in Cuba of Soto and his men on June 7 with five ships and 600 men and says that preparations were being made for the voyage to Florida. As his *alcalde mayor* he had appointed Licentiate Bartolomé Ortiz. The arrival in Cuba is noted also in a letter of July 20, 1538 (*Col. de Doc. inéd. . . de Ultramar*, VI, 27-35), by Gonzalo de Guzmán, formerly lieutenant governor in Cuba, as follows: "On June 7, Adelantado Don Hernando de Soto reached this port with six vessels and a fine body of men, about five hundred in all, who say they comprise the whole body" (p. 33). The arrival is mentioned also in a letter of August 1, 1538, written by Bernardo de Quesada, procurator of Santiago (*ibid.*, pp. 39-42), who says: "On June 9 of this present year, there arrived in this island of Cuba and city of Santiago, Hernando de Soto, governor of this island and adelantado of Florida, with over five hundred men" (p. 39).

25. *Need.* In his letter of July 20, 1538 (see *ante*, note 24), Gonzalo de Guzmán says (pp. 33-34) in speaking of the arrival of Soto and his men in Cuba: "They disembarked at this port and were lodged in this city, and in the farms of the inhabitants thereof, from which all have received much inconvenience; for since many ships coming from the coast of Tierra Firme are always putting in at this port, the greatest and sole profit of the inhabitants of this city is that of selling them all the provisions which they obtain and possess. And on that account and because this year has been very unproductive, we have had so great a lack of food that there was not even enough for all the inhabitants. And it comes to pass that, although the people had need of it, he has so much need of it that it seems to me that, without abundance of food, neither war nor pacification can be made. And, together with this, [there is] less money with which to provide food, wherever it can be found. What I have regretted in him is that he is planning to stay in this island until this may be remedied in one way or another; and that, in fact, the inhabitants have suffered and are suffering much inconvenience because of the food which they are giving to all his men at their own expense. Outside of this, I see ability and so good a manner in his person that I believe he will achieve a better result than the previous ones. Please God that this may not be so prejudicial to the island, that we inhabitants thereof may have to abandon it; for, besides having supported and supporting him and his men, we learn that they are going to take some of our young men and inhabitants away with them; and without them we can give up everything and live with difficulty in the land. He has his eyes and his thought so fixed on Florida that he will give little heed to the loss of this land. We can not help complaining loudly for the present and because of what I have mentioned, for especially we are expecting the Indians in revolt to cause great harm daily, and since the aforementioned Soto came they have done us a great deal of hurt, so that, although the island has greater need of aid, a greater loss comes upon it. For we are sure that he can not leave here these eight months, and although there is not enough to feed the natives, the necessity of feeding five hundred men at the latter's expense, whatever remedy is sought it can not but come late."

Quesada (see *ante*, note 24) says also (pp. 39-40): "He was lodged in this city of Santiago and its environs and on the farms of the inhabitants of this city, and they

have been fed until now without the inhabitants having any gain therefrom. The inhabitants of this city are in revolt, because for two years, one after the other, the weather has been very poor for the raising of provisions. On this account, the inhabitants are experiencing considerable trouble in supporting so many people at their own expense. Since this island has been a mother for the settling of New Spain and the supplying of Tierra Firme, and since after the discovery of Peru, many provisions and horses and Spanish Christians have left this island, it is considerably depopulated and bereft of any one to act for it, and if your Majesty does not remedy it, it is headed clear for destruction.

"Its destruction is that Governor Hernando de Soto is going away on his conquest of Florida and will try to take all the Spaniards who are most useful in keeping this island peaceful, and prevent the inhabitants of this island from selling horses or provisions to Tierra Firme or Peru; for hitherto, the inhabitants have been aided by selling horses and provisions to the ships coming to look for them for Tierra Firme and Peru. Since Governor Hernando de Soto is now preventing that, as I have said, the inhabitants of this island and your Majesty's subjects are receiving very great injury and the country is being depopulated. And although your Majesty has little income in this island at present, it has been because of supporting other places where your Majesty has many subjects and much income." See also, *post*, note 37.

26. *Houses*. For the early history of Santiago de Cuba, see Irene A. Wright, *The Early History of Cuba, 1492-1586* (New York, 1916).

27. *Mamei*. The mammee apple, sometimes called the St. Domingo apricot (*Mameia Americana*). Both tree and fruit were described by Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés in his *Historia general y natural de las Indias* (Madrid ed., 1851-1852), I, book VIII, chapter XX, "Del Arbol mamey ó de su fructa, llamada assi mismo mamey," pp. 305-307; and by Bernabé Cobo, *Historia del Mundo Nuevo* (Seville, 1890-1893), II, 20-21. The fruit, which is still much esteemed today, has also medicinal value.

28. *Potatoes*. The cassava root has played an important role in the history of the world. The land of its origin is still a moot question (see Wiener, *Africa and the Discovery of America*, Philadelphia, 1920-1922, I, 210-216). The name "cassava" properly designates the starchy content of the plant, but has been extended to the plant itself. The proper common name is "manioc" and the commercial product is called "tapioca." There are two varieties, the bitter and the sweet, so designated from the amount of prussic acid present. The sweet variety has been grown extensively in Florida for many years and to some extent in other southern states of the United States. See Harvey W. Wiley, *Sweet Cassava: Its Culture, Properties, and Uses*, Bull. No. 44, Division of Chemistry, United States Department of Agriculture (Washington, 1894); and Charles C. Moore, *Cassava: Its Content of Hydrocyanic Acid and Starch and other Properties*, Bull. No. 106, *ibid.* (Washington, 1907). Much has been written about this plant, both in old and modern works. Among early writers, consult Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*

(Madrid, 1851), I, book VII, chap. II, "Del pan de las Indias que so llama caçabi"; José de Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (Seville, 1590), pp. 239-240 (Eng. transl.); *The naturall and morall Historie of the East and West Indies* (London, 1604), pp. 257-258; and Jean Baptiste du Tertre, *Histoire Generale des Antilles habitées par les François* (Paris, 1667-1671), II, Traite III, section XIV, pp. 112-118. [Elvas's allusion to potatoes here probably refers to the sweet potato or yam rather than to the so-called "Irish potato." As the conquest of Peru occurred only a little over twenty years before the publication of Elvas's account, it is doubtful whether knowledge of this new "potato" from the Peruvian and Bolivian highlands had yet spread very widely.—JH] [The work by the eccentric Weiner, here cited by Robertson, is now almost universally disregarded. Cassava is quite certainly a Native American domesticate.—VJK]

29. *Meat*. These wild cattle and hogs had escaped from the Spaniards who introduced them into the island of Española and others of the West Indies. The wild cattle, especially, were destined to play a large part in the conquering and peopling of America. To exploit them, men of various nationalities formed themselves into bands, especially in Española and later in Jamaica; and from the method employed in curing the carcasses of the cattle, were called buccaneers (from the Indian word *boucan*). See Exquemelin's interesting narrative, *Bucaniers of America*, which first appeared in Dutch, but was later translated into many languages. Many dogs also escaped from civilization.

30. *Cuba*. The island of Cuba, exclusive of the Isle of Pines and many of the nearby keys, has an area of about 43,000 sq. mi. It is 730 miles long by 20 to 90 miles wide.

31. *Houses*. For the early history of Havana, see Irene A. Wright, *Historia documentada de San Cristóbal de la Habana en el Siglo XVI* (Havana, 1927); and *The early History of Cuba*.

32. *Island*. Santiago was the metropolitan see for Florida during the Spanish occupation of the latter. See James Alexander Robertson, "Notes on Early Church Government in Spanish Florida," in *Catholic Historical Review*, XVII, July, 1931, pp. 151-174.

33. *Hands*. Buckingham Smith, evidently following Hakluyt, who makes the same error, mistranslates this passage, saying "with a cudgel in his hands."

34. *Brother-in-law*. The French translation of 1685 and its English translation of 1686 call Carlos a cousin of Soto. In reality he had married Soto's niece (see *ante*, note 16).

35. *Eastern*. So in our text, but certainly an error for "western." This was probably an error of the printer, who must have mistaken the word "loeste" meaning "west" for "leste" meaning "east." Hakluyt corrected the error without comment.

36. *Bayamo*. The Spanish town of Bayamo—called from its old Indian name—was founded by the conquistador Diego Velázquez (see Wright, *Early History of Cuba*). The town is located on the Bayamo River, a branch of the Cauto. In his letter of July 20, 1538, Gonzalo Guzmán notes (*Col. de Doc. inéd. . . de Ultramar*, VI, 32-33)

that the inhabitants of Bayamo were considering changing its location, and asks that they be forbidden to do this.

37. *Indians*. The Bishop of Cuba, writing to Charles V on August 15, 1539 (*Col. de Doc. inéd. . . de Ultramar*, VI, 58), said: "As soon as Soto arrived, he ordered that no person, under penalty of death, should sell horses or provisions outside the island. He has taken 250 horses, has supported 500 men for almost a year, and has taken provisions for another year—all this without paying scarcely any money. How much hurt he has caused the inhabitants who maintain themselves by their farms and their animals! Add to this that he has taken with him the men of the island who are of use in war. This will cause the Indians to revolt and it is to be feared that they will leave not a single Christian alive." See also, *ante*, note 25.

Gonzalo de Guzmán, in a letter to the monarch on August 28, 1539 (abstract by Muñoz in *Col. de Doc. inéd. . . de Ultramar*, VI, 59-60), said: "Soto, in addition to having been a year with his men eating at the expense of the inhabitants, committed two very grievous wrongs: 1. By depriving the island of its greatest source of gain, for he ordered that neither provisions nor horses be exported, since which time no vessels have been coming here and the people are in a desperate condition. 2. By taking Porcallo, who was in the province of the city of Trinidad in the middle of the island, who by himself had more wealth than four ports together and was greatly feared. Soto is sending everything to Florida where he will have to stay and this island is done for." The account of Juan de Agramonte, written at Santiago, on September 3, 1539 (AI, 54-1-34, No. 2; also published in (*Col. de Doc. inéd. . . de Ultramar*, VI, 61-68), says: "The other reason [for the desperate condition of the island] is that Governor Don Hernando de Soto ordered, under penalty of death, that no person withdraw from this island any horses or provisions. . . ."

The royal officials in their letter to the king on May 18, 1539 (see *ante*, note 19), stated that Soto was about to leave for Florida with nine ships, 237 horses, 330 foot, and altogether 513 men excluding the sailors. He also had 300 loaves of cassava bread, 2500 shoulders of bacon, and 2500 fanegas of maize; and in order to insure a continuous supply of provisions he had bought up many pasturages.

38. *Lizards*. Alligators.

39. *More*. The maja (*Epicrates angulifer*), which is still found. As the narrator says, it is harmless to people. It reaches a length of twelve feet and feeds on birds and small mammals. The name is also applied in Cuba to another snake (*Tropidophis malanurus*) which seldom reaches over a yard in length.

40. *Porcallo*. Vasco Porcallo de Figueroa was born in Cáceres, Spain, in the second half of the fifteenth century and died in Puerto Príncipe, Cuba (which he had founded), in 1550. His family was of noble extraction and related to the Dukes of Feria. Entering upon the profession of arms, he served with distinction in Spain and Italy; and when still a young man went to America and soon settled in Cuba, becoming the original settler in the province of Camaguey. There he founded the settlement of San Juan de los Remedios, which soon attained to considerable importance. He was Di-

ego Velázquez's first choice for the leader of the expedition on which Cortés entered. He became one of the wealthiest landowners in Cuba and one of the most ruthless. He was very active. He became procurator in Sancti Spiritus and aided Velázquez in the founding of Baracoa. The Bishop of Santiago in his letter of August 15, 1539 (see *ante*, note 37), reported that Soto had taken Porcallo, who was powerful, wealthy, and feared, to Florida, on which account the Indians had lost their fear of the Spaniards. However, the Florida campaign not being much to his liking because of the hardships and the small chance of getting Indian slaves, he returned to Cuba almost immediately, as related in the text. However, he left his natural son, Gómez de Figueroa, with Soto. See Garcilaso de la Vega, *La Florida del Inca*, book II, chap. XI, pp. 48-50, for an amusing account of Porcallo's discomfiture on the expedition to the district of Paracoxi; and Lowery, *Spanish Settlements . . . 1513-1561*, pp. 220-222. See also *Enciclopedia Universal* (Espasa), XLVI, 459-460; and Wright, *Early History of Cuba*, *passim*. Buckingham Smith, *Collección de varios Documentos* (Londrés, 1857) reproduces a "Declaración" made by him on February 28, 1522 (pp. 45-87).

41. *Sancti Spiritus*. In 1544, Sancti Spiritus (founded in 1514 by Diego de Velázquez) had a population of eighteen citizens, fifty-eight free Indians on encomiendas, fourteen Negro, and fifty Indian slaves. See *Enciclopedia Universal* (Espasa), XIII, 1189; and Wright, *Early Hist. of Cuba*, *passim*.

42. *River*. Probably the Yayabo.

43. *Trinidad*. Founded in 1514. Las Casas was one of its original settlers. See Wright, *Early Hist. of Cuba*, *passim*.

44. *Porcallo de Figueroa*. See *ante*, note 40.

45. *Havana*. By a royal cédula, issued in Valladolid, March 20, 1538, Soto was ordered to construct a fort at Havana (see Wright, *Historia documentada de . . . Habana en el Siglo XVI*, I, 184). Soto delegated the building of the fort to Francisco Aceituno, an aged inhabitant of Santiago de Cuba, to whom an annual salary of 100,000 maravedís was assigned. The fort was built in seven months and Aceituno was appointed its governor with an annual salary of 75,000 maravedís (*ibid.*, pp. 16-17).

46. *Juan de Rojas*. Juan de Rojas was for many years one of the most prominent citizens of Havana. See Wright, *Early Hist. of Cuba*, *passim*; and *Col. de Doc. inéd. . . de Ultramar*, VI, *passim*.

47. *Florida*. Probably at a point on Tampa Bay and not on Charlotte Harbor as some have contended. Such is the opinion of Lowery, *Spanish Settlements . . . 1513-1561*, p. 219; as well as of Mr. John C. Cooper, Jr., of Jacksonville, Florida, who has made a careful study of this question from the evidence of narratives and maps; and of Mrs. Isabel Garrard Patterson, of Atlanta, Georgia, who is now endeavoring to establish Soto's route with more accuracy than has yet been done. Rangel (see Bourne, *Narratives*, II, 51-54) gives many details of the landing. [Robertson did this translation in 1933, before very much work on the De Soto trail was published. In 1939, John R. Swanton published the *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission*, representing a major effort to establish De Soto's route.

More recently, many scholars have suggested various revisions of the route that Swanton suggested, affecting particularly the route followed by De Soto during his second year of exploration after breaking his winter camp in Apalachee.—[JH]

48. *Ucita*. Called *Ocita* by Rangel, Soto's private secretary, in his account of the expedition (see Bourne, *ut supra*, II, 52). The place is called the port of Baya Honda by Luis Fernández de Biedma, the factor, in his relation (see *ibid.*, II, 3). Soto probably took possession for Spain of Florida (June 3, 1539) on the shore of the bay opposite this place (see Rangel, in Bourne, *ut supra*, II, 56).

49. *Six*. Rangel (Bourne, *ut supra*, II, 54-55) says: "they lighted upon ten Indians . . . and they [the Indians] shot two horses and the Spaniards slew two Indians and put the rest to flight."

50. *Luis de Moscoso*. See *ante*, note 10.

51. [*Junto à praya* are the Portuguese words that Robertson rendered as "near the beach." The Portuguese *junto* as used here has the same sense of "next to" or "on" rather than simply "near," which is *perto* or *cêrca*. The Portuguese word that Robertson translated as "artificially" (*à mão*) rendered literally would be "by hand."—[JH] *Fortress*. The remains of this artificial mound are still to be seen a few miles from Gadsdens Point (Lowery, pp. 219-220). Garcilaso de la Vega gives the name of the town as *Hirriga*.

52. *Vasconcelos*. One of the Portuguese from Elvas. Pedro de Calderón was the son of Rodrigo Calderón and Beatriz de Hocés, of Badajoz. He took with him his two sons, Rodrigo Calderón and Gregorio de Hocés. All three returned from Florida. See Solar and Rújula, *Hernando de Soto*, pp. 276-277; and B. Smith, *Narratives*, p. 292. Solar and Rújula (p. 281) say that there were three of the Cardenosa, namely, Arias Tinoco, Alonso Romo, and Diego Tinoco, sons of Gutierre Garcia Calderón and María Romo. All three returned from Florida (see B. Smith, *Narr.*, p. 293). The name Tinoco shows that they were related to Soto through his mother.

53. *Lobillo*. See *ante*, note 10. Captain Francisco Maldonado was the son of Rodrigo Maldonado and Beatriz Ordoñez, of Salamanca (Solar and Rújula, p. 333). He made repeated voyages in search of Soto, on one occasion going as far north as Newfoundland (see Lowery, pp. 250-251).

54. *Indians*. Hakluyt, who is followed by the French edition of 1685 and its English translation of 1686, says "two" Indians. Rangel (Bourne, *Narr.*, II, 55) says that Añasco had seized four Indians when he went in search of a harbor in Florida before the expedition actually left Cuba. One Indian, he says, was sent by Soto to persuade the cacique to make peace. Two of the others escaped.

55. *Huts*. Hakluyt (p. 20) mistranslates, saying that Baltasar de Gallegos had captured the four Indian women.

56. *Life*. Rangel (Bourne, *Narr.*, II, 56-57) says that Ortiz was in a band of twenty Indians, all painted red, adorned with feathers, and armed with bows and arrows. According to him, the salutation of Ortiz was "Sirs, for the love of God and of Holy Mary, slay not me; I am a Christian like yourselves and was born in Seville, and my

name is Johan Ortiz." Fernández de Biedma says (Bourne, II, 4) that for more than four days, Ortiz could not speak without uttering four or five Indian words to one of Spanish.

57. *Returned.* Various writers have attempted to weave a romance about this early "Pocahontas," but with no real authority for so doing. Garcilaso de la Vega recites the episode of Ortiz with great detail (*La Florida del Inca*, fols. 39-46). Rangel (Bourne, II, 57-58) says that Mucoço was peaceful and for that reason was threatened by the other chiefs of his vicinity.

58. *Twelve.* Hakluyt (p. 25) says "ten or eleven." Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 3) says there were nine Indians, and Rangel (see note 56) twenty. Lewis, "The Narrative of the Expedition of Hernando de Soto," in *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States, 1528-1543* (p. 150, note), conjectures that the town of Mucoço was located west of Miakka River (Macaco of the old maps), but this is doubtful, for Lewis locates the first landfall in Florida on Charlotte Harbor instead of Tampa Bay.

59. *Paracoxi.* Paracoxi (Hurripacuxi in Fernández de Biedma, Bourne, II, 5, and Orriparacogi in Rangel, *ibid.*, p. 60) was evidently not the name of the cacique, but the title of the superior chief of the region. The name apparently reappears in the relation of Jacques le Moyne de Morgues (Frankfort, 1591) and in Laudonnière's *Histoire Notable* (Paris, 1586), where it has the forms Paraousti and Paracousi and is said to be the equivalent of king. For variants of the name, see John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and their Neighbors*, Bulletin No. 73, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, 1922, p. 327. See also Lowery, *Span. Settlements*, p. 221.

60. *You.* This and all subsequent talks attributed to the Indian caciques are undoubtedly apocryphal and simply put into the mouths of the speakers. After leaving this cacique, Fernández de Biedma says (Bourne, II, 5) that they went for fifteen or twenty leagues to a town called Etocale (the Cale of our text) where they found food and stayed for about a week.

61. *Espiritu Santo.* "So called from the day when the governor and his fleet arrived" (Rangel, Bourne, II, 63).

62. *Time.* With the ships was dispatched the celebrated letter of Soto to the cabildo of Santiago de Cuba, dated July 9, 1539. An English translation will be found in B. Smith, *Letter of Hernando de Soto, and Memoir of Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda* (Washington, 1854), pp. 7-10, and *Narr.*, pp. 288-291; and in Bourne, II, 159-165. See also J. A. Robertson, *Documents in Span. Archives relating to the History of the U.S.*, p. 7, for location of copies of the original.

63. *Him.* See Rangel's account of Porcallo's departure in Bourne, II, 61-62. Among other things, Rangel says: "The departure of this cavalier was regretted by many since he was a friend of good men and did much for them." It was agreed that Porcallo should still look after the provisioning of the expedition from Cuba. He seems to have kept on good terms with Isabel de Bobadilla.

64. *Cale*. The word probably survives in the modern name "Ocala" (Rangel uses the form "Ocale"). Swanton (Bull. No. 73) says (p. 327) that it was a province north of the Withlacoochee, not far from the present Ocala. He gives the variants Ocale, Ocaly, Etocale, Ologale. See Rangel's statement (Bourne, II, 62-63) relative to Soto's instructions to Gallegos regarding the dual reports he was to make on his explorations. In his letter of July 9, 1539, Soto says of this town: ". . . Afterwards, farther on, at the distance of two days' journey, there is another town, called Ocale. It is so large, and they so extol it, that I dare not repeat all that is said. . . . On our coming together we will march to join Baltazar de Gallegos, that we may go thence to pass the winter at Ocale, where, if what is said be true, we shall have nothing to desire." See B. Smith, *Narratives*, pp. 285-286. [If Elvas's recollection is reliable here, Paracoxi's town must have been deep in the center of the peninsula for Cale to have been "toward the west" from it. The Portuguese, *para ponente* ("toward the setting sun") leaves no doubt that "toward the west" was intended by Elvas.—JH]

65. *Years*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 63) says that the men ordered to remain behind with Calderón "were heavy in spirit." He puts them at forty horse and sixty foot.

66. *Acela*. Called "Vicela" by Rangel (Bourne, II, 65). Swanton (Bull. No. 73, p. 330) says it was a small town somewhat south of the Withlacoochee.

67. *Tocaste*. The same form is used by Rangel. Swanton (Bull. No. 73, p. 329) says it was located on a large lake some distance south of the Withlacoochee. See Lewis's conjecture in *Spanish Explorers*, p. 155, note 1.

68. *Lacking*. Rangel appears to have been sent on this errand (see Bourne, II, 65-66).

69. *Blites*. Probably greens of some sort. [As Henry F. Dobyns noted on pages 221-22 of *Their Number Become Thinned* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983), the Portuguese term *bredos*, which Robertson translated as "blites" and speculated were "probably greens of some sort," is more specific. James L. Taylor, in his *Portuguese-English Dictionary* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1958), gives the following range of possibilities for *brede*: princess feather (*Amaranthus hypochondriacus*), the blite goosefoot (*Chenopodium capitatum*), spiny amaranth (*A. spinosus*), the tumbleweed amaranth (*A. graecizans*), amaranth or love-lies-bleeding (*A. caudatus sanguineus*), among others. An English equivalent more comprehensible than "blites" would be "pigweed" or "lamb's quarters."—JH]

70. *Apalache*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 69) says that Apalache "was reported to be populous." Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 5) says that several forays were made in order to get Indians for guides. [The Portuguese that Robertson rendered as "one of two Indians who were captured told" is *e dos que se tomaram disse um*. Here *dos* is the Portuguese contraction of *de* and *os*, meaning "of those," rather than the Spanish *dos*, meaning "two," which is what Robertson has taken *dos* for. In order for this phrase to be rendered as Robertson has rendered it, it would have to be, *e de os dois indios que se tomaram disse um*. The usual Portuguese for

"two" is *dois*. The passage should be rendered as "one of those who were captured said."—JH]

71. 1540. *Sic* in our text, but an error for 1539. This is corrected by Hakluyt and by B. Smith. The date of the departure is the same in Rangel.

72. *Ytara*. *Itaraholata* in Rangel (Bourne, II, 69). The word *holata* means "chief" (see Swanton, Bull. No. 73, p. 323).

73. *Utinama*. The name Potano is given also by Rangel (Bourne, II, 70); but *Utinama* becomes *Utinamocharra* in the latter.

74. *Mala Paz*. This story is also related by Rangel (Bourne, II, 70). [The five villages mentioned by Elvas may have been the total for the province. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Potano was spoken of as having five settlements.—JH]

75. *Built*. The river over which the bridge was built is called the River of Discord by Rangel (Bourne, II, 71) because of certain quarrels which are not explained.

76. *Caliquen*. *Aguacalecuen* in the narrative by Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 5), and *Aguascaleyquen* in Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 71). Swanton (Bull. No. 73, p. 323) says this town and province seem to have been located between the Suwanee and its branch, the Santa Fe.

77. *Saddled*. Hakluyt (p. 32) mistranslates this passage as follows: "and that we should be put out of doubt before it were long."

78. *Ten*. Rangel gives the date of departure as September 9 (Bourne, II, 72).

79. *Uzachil*. Called *Veachile* by Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 6), *Uchachile* and *Uçachile* by Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 73), and *Ossachile* by Garcilaso de la Vega, *La Florida del Inca*, fols. 88–90; see also Barnard Shipp, *History of Hernando de Soto and Florida* (Philadelphia, 1881), pp. 299–301. This region may have been the seat of the Indians called *Osochi*, perhaps an offshoot of the *Timucua* (see Swanton, Bull. No. 73, pp. 165–167). [There seems to be no good reason for identifying *Uzachil* as other than a *Yustagan* settlement, as De Soto was clearly on the trail to *Apalachee* and from *Uzachil* passed on to *Axille*, which is the *Asile* of the mission era on the border of *Apalachee*.—JH]

80. *Napetuca*. Rangel mentions two towns on the way to *Napetuca* (*Napituca*, *Napetaca*), namely *Uriutina* (a village of pleasant aspect and abundant food) and one called *Many Waters* (so called because of the heavy rains). *Napetuca* is located by Swanton (Bull. No. 73, p. 327) as lying apparently in the province of *Aguascalecuen*, between the *Suwanee* and *Sante Fe* rivers. Rangel (Bourne, II, 73) describes *Napetuca* as "a very pleasant village, in a pretty spot, with plenty of food." Rangel and the text agree here as to date. [Inasmuch as Elvas referred to *Uzachil* as paramount for all the *Timucua* territory between *Caliquen* and *Uzachil*, it would seem more logical to refer to the region as the Province of *Uzachil*. In mission times, the territory from *Caliquen* to the river just beyond *Napetuca* (the *Suwanee*) was part of the Province of *Utina*, and the chief of the settlement that is believed to have been *Caliquen* was the paramount chief for all the *Timucua*-speaking territory west to *Apalachee*.—JH]

81. *Arrows*. See Rangel's account of these happenings, which differs considerably in detail from that of our text (Bourne, II, 73-77).

82. *River*. Called Deer River by the men because of the occurrence noted here (see also Rangel, in Bourne, II, 77).

83. *Hapaluya*. Apalu in Rangel (Bourne, II, 78). The form Apalou appears in Laudonnière (*Histoire Notable*, fol. 93), as applied to one of the caciques. Swanton (Bull. No. 73, p. 324) locates this district in the northwestern part of Timucua country near Uzachil (see *ante*, note 79) in the province of Hostagua; and says that the word signifies "fort" in Timucua. [There apparently was more than one settlement bearing the name Apalo. The Le Moyne map shows an Appalou located a little to the northeast of Potano. In 1616, Fray Gerónimo de Oré described Apalo as a mission station two and one-half days' journey by foot from the Fresh Water Timucua mission of San Antonio on the route to San Francisco Potano. Maynard Geiger, the translator of Oré's work, placed Apalo south of Lake Orange.—JH]

84. *Axille*. Aguile in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 7) and Agile by Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 78). This was Asile (Swanton gives many other variants) which was an important town in the westernmost part of the Timucua country, and which later gave its name to the mission of San Miguel de Assile and to the Ocilla River (Swanton, Bull. No. 73, p. 324). [There is nothing in the De Soto accounts or in the mission-era documentation that indicates that Asile was an important town. In 1675, Asile was listed as having only forty people, while the other three Yustagan missions each had about three hundred people (see Juan Fernández de Florencia to Pablo de Hita Salazar, San Luis de Apalachee, July 15, 1675, AGI, Santo Domingo 839, Stetson Collection of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History of the University of Florida at Gainesville).—JH]

85. *Forest*. The last clause of this sentence is omitted by Hakluyt.

86. *Vitachuco*. Ivatachuco in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 17) and Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 79). See also Swanton, Bull. No. 73, p. 112, for other information regarding this Apalache town. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 161, note 1) points out that the day of St. Francis falls on October 4, but that this day did not come on Wednesday in 1539. Rangel (Bourne, II, 79) says the crossing was made on Friday, October 3. [During the mission era, Vitachuco's chief was referred to repeatedly as the most prestigious or the most important of Apalachee's chiefs, rather than the chief of San Luis, who was heir to the chiefdom of Anhaica Apalachee (see John H. Hann, *Apalachee: The Land between the Rivers* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1988), 98-100.—JH]

87. *Uzela*. Rangel says (Bourne, II, 79) that on Sunday, October 5, the Spaniards reached the town of Calahuchi, an Apalache town. Lewis (*Span. Explorers*, p. 161, note 3) identifies this with Uzela, but it may have been one of the other small towns thereabout.

88. *Anhaica Apalache*. Iniahico in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 7) and Ivahica in Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 79). Swanton seems to accept the form Iniahica as the

correct one (see Bull. No. 73, p. 111). The town was evidently in the neighborhood of the present Tallahassee. The Apalache Indians were a Muskogean group, whose name in Hitchiti apparently means "on the other side." Their habitat at the time of their first discovery by Europeans was that portion of the present western part of Florida lying between the Ocilla River on the east and the Ocklochnee and its branches on the west. The center of their territory seems to have been at about the location of the present Tallahassee, but they probably extended as far north as southern Georgia. In culture they were probably midway between the other Florida Indians and their own Muskogean relatives toward the north. Many Spanish missions were established among them in the seventeenth century.

They were first mentioned by Cabeza de Vaca in his narrative (see Adolphe Bandelier, *Journey of Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca*, New York, 1922, pp. 12-13, 24, 25-26, 27, 28-34). In addition to the short notice in our text, they are mentioned by Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 6-7); Rangel (*ibid.*, pp. 78-80, 82); Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda, in his memoir written about 1575 (B. Smith's translation, *Letter of Hernando de Soto and Memoir of Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda*, Washington, 1854); Garcilaso de la Vega, *La Florida del Inca* (from Alonso de Carmona; see Bourne, II, 151-152). These references as well as later ones, are given in Swanton, Bull. No. 73 (*q.v.*, pp. 109-129). See also Hodge, *Handbook of the American Indian* (Washington, 1907), I, 67-68.

[Robertson's surmise about the location of Anhaica Apalachee has been borne out by discovery of the location of De Soto's winter camp at the Martin site in downtown Tallahassee. The site is on a hill adjacent to the one on which the state's Capitol complex stands. The alternate names of Anhaica and Iniahico used by the De Soto chroniclers reappeared in the 1657 visitation record for the San Luis mission, which was referred to variously as San Luis Xinayca and San Luis Nixaxipa (see Hann, "Translation of Governor Rebolledo's 1657 Visitation of Three Florida Provinces and Related Documents," *Florida Archaeology* 2 (1986): 93, 95). There appears to be little evidence for Robertson's statement that Apalachee territory "probably extended as far north as southern Georgia." B. Calvin Jones, in his surface-collecting expeditions, has found little evidence of an Apalachee presence much north of Lakes Jackson and Iamonia. Gary Shapiro speculated that southern Georgia's lack of such bodies of water was a reason the Apalachee did not move into that territory (personal communication).

Robertson's remark "In culture they were probably midway between the other Florida Indians and their own Muskogean relatives toward the north" is not very clear. If Robertson meant to say that the Apalachee were only half as Mississippian or half as advanced as their neighbors to the north, his remark is open to serious question.

Robertson's statement "Many Spanish missions . . ." might be changed to "Eleven Spanish missions."—JH]

89. *Plums*. The dried plums were probably persimmons. Swanton (Bull. No. 73, p. 117, note) calls attention to a possible misprint in the original near this point. The

sentence beginning "In that town" translates as follows, if the punctuation of the original be kept, "In that town, the maestre de campo, . . . lodged them all within a league and a half league about that town." The reading as suggested by Swanton is more logical and has been adopted in the present translation.

90. *Horses*. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 7) says they found the place where "the forge had stood, and many bones of horses"; and adds: "The Indians told us, through the interpreters, what others like us there had done." Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 79-80) says that Añasco recognized the place "by the headpieces of the horses and the place where the forge was set up and the mangers and the mortars that they used to grind corn and by the crosses cut in the trees." Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 162, note 2) says that the Spaniards knew this place as Bahía de Caballos or Horse Bay, and identifies it as Bay Ocklockonee. [For the most recent scholarship on the location of Horse Bay, see Rochelle A. Marrinan, John F. Scarry, and Rhonda L. Majors, "Prelude to De Soto: The Expedition of Pánfilo De Narváez," in *Columbian Consequences*, vol. 2, *Archaeological and Historical Perspectives on the Spanish Borderlands East*, ed. David Hurst Thomas (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1990), 76-77.—JH]

91. *November 17*. This sentence showing the date of Calderón's [Añasco's] departure was omitted by B. Smith. Hakluyt says that Añasco set out on Saturday. The seventeenth of November really fell on Monday.

92. *November 29*. November 29 fell on Saturday as here given.

93. *Brigantines*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 81), gives the date of Añasco's arrival at the port as November 19, but this is an evident error. December 28 fell on Sunday as given in our text (see Bourne, II, 81, note 13).

94. *Ochus*. This name appears later in the accounts of the expedition of Tristán de Luna y Arellano as Ochuse. Luna gave it the name Bahía de Santa Maria Filipina because he entered it on August 14 (the assumption of the Virgin) and in honor of Philip II. This was the harbor of Pensacola (see H. I. Priestley, *The Luna Papers*, index).

95. *Maldonado*. Maldonado never again saw the men of the expedition. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 9) says: "as we were about to set off in quest of the country which that Indian stated to be on another sea, he must return with the brigantines to Cuba, where Doña Ysabel de Bobadilla, his wife, remained, and if within six months' time he should hear nothing of us, to come with the brigantines, and run the shore as far as the River Espiritu Santo, to which we should have to resort." Rangel (*ibid.*, pp. 81-82) says that Maldonado left Apalache on February 26, 1540.

96. *Yupaha*. Probably a reference to Cufitachiqui.

97. 1540. This date agrees with that given by Rangel (Bourne, II, 82).

98. *River*. Called Guacuca by Rangel (Bourne, II, 82).

99. *Capachiqui*. Acapachiqui in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 9) and Capachiqui in Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 83). Swanton conjectures that this region belonged to the Indians now known as Hitchiti (see Bull. No. 73, p. 118).

100. *Friday*. Bourne (II, 52, note 1) points out that the 11th of the month in 1540 fell on Thursday.

101. *Five*. Rangel says "one hundred," which Bourne (II, 84, note) conjectures to be an error in transcription, "cient" being set down instead of "cinco."

102. *Toalli*. Otoa in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 10) and Toa in Rangel (*ibid.*, 84). Swanton (Bull. No. 73, p. 12) says these various forms are synonyms of "Tamali," the name of a tribe living in what is now southern Georgia, and probably speaking a Hitchiti dialect. Rangel says they reached this place on the 23rd of the month. Bourne (I, 52, note 2) notes that Wednesday fell on the 24th.

103. *Tile*. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 9-10) notices the difference of the habitations, saying: "There was a change in the habitations which were now in the earth, like caves; heretofore they were covered with palm leaves and with grass."

104. *Flax*. The bark cloth was probably made from the inner lining of the bark of the mulberry tree. Le Page du Pratz (*Histoire de la Louisiane*, Paris, 1758, II, 191-193) describes the method of manufacture of cloth from the mulberry bark much as does our text. The fiber mentioned by our author might have been the *Urena lobata* (popularly called Caesar's weed in Florida) or the so-called false sisal (*Agave decipiens*), both of which abound in Florida. See J. H. McCulloh, Jr., *Researches Philosophical and Antiquarian Concerning the Aboriginal History of America* (Baltimore, 1829), p. 153; Charles Richard Dodge, *A Report on the Uncultivated Bast Fibers of the United States* (Washington, 1894), p. 14, and *A Report on the Leaf Fibers of the United States* (Washington, 1893), pp. 28-33 (these being respectively "Fiber Investigations," Nos. 6 and 5 of the Department of Agriculture). On the clothing of the Indians in Florida, see also, Swanton, Bull. No. 73, pp. 112, 346, 387, 391.

105. *Drowned*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 85) says: "On Tuesday morning they arrived at Toa, a large village, and the Governor wanted to go on further, but they would not suffer him. On Wednesday, the Governor went at midnight in secret with about forty horse, knights and gentlemen and some others, who for various reasons had not wished to be under another captain." Fernández de Biedma (*ibid.*, p. 10) says that before reaching this village, they crossed two rivers, over which they passed on bridges made by tying the trees together.

106. *Achese*. Called Chisi by Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 10) and Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 85). The latter says that this place was reached on the morning of Holy Thursday; and adds that "though it was Holy Thursday there was not so strict a Christian that he scrupled to eat flesh." Swanton (Bull. No. 73, p. 226) conjectures that the Chisi, Ichisi, or Achese (the people inhabiting this village) belonged to the Coweta, the principal body of the Lower Creeks. He calls attention to the fact that "Ochisi (Otcí si) is a name applied to the Muskogee by Hitchiti-speaking peoples." [It is more likely that Elvas's Achese are the Hitchiti-speaking Uchise of later Spanish documents rather than the Muskogee-speaking Coweta that John R. Swanton favored.—JH]

107. *Ocute*. Called Ocuti by Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 11). See Swanton, Bull. No. 73, pp. 174-175, who conjectures that the Ocute Indians were identical with the Hitchiti and that this town was the Aeykite of the French census of 1760 and

the Hitch-e-tee of a map of 1818. [In a 1717 census of native settlements just outside of St. Augustine, which contained post-Yamasee War immigrants from Georgia and South Carolina, a chief of Ocute was identified as speaking Yamasee, in circumstances that suggest that Yamasee and Hitchiti were the same language (see John H. Hann, "St. Augustine's Fallout from the Yamasee War," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 68 [1989]: 188-89). Other evidence suggests that Guale also was identical with or very similar to Yamasee and Hitchiti. Diego Camuñas, a native whom Spaniards employed as an interpreter for Guale and Yamasee from the 1670s to the 1690s, was also used in the 1680s as an interpreter for Hitchiti-speaking inhabitants of Apalachicola on the Chattahoochee River. Also a Yamasee, working in Apalachicola as a spy for the Spaniards, mentioned that he was able to pass as a local when he dressed as a local and did so because his language was so similar to that of the locals at Apalachicola.—JH]

108. *Altamaca*. Altapaha in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 10) and Altamaha in Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 89). The great river mentioned in the text was probably the Altamaha or Oconee. This seems to have been the eastward flowing stream mentioned by Fernández de Biedma (p. 10). See also Swanton, Bull. No. 73, p. 95.

109. *Hens*. Turkeys. Called *guanaxas* by Rangel (Bourne, II, 86). The word "turkeys" is to be understood in all cases where the word "hens" appears in the translation.

110. *Tamemes*. According to Buckingham Smith (*Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto*, p. 222), this is a word derived from the Mexican Indians which was in current use among the Spaniards. It is from "tlamama" or "tlameme," signifying porter or carrier of loads on the back.

111. *Patofa*. Tatofa in Rangel (Bourne, II, 91), who gives the name to the chief of the village.

112. *Youth*. Called Perico by Rangel (Bourne, II, 91).

113. *Coça*. Coosa. See Priestley, *The Luna Papers* (DeLand, 1928) for the connection of the Luna y Arellano expedition of 1559-61 with this region. See also Daniel Marshall Andrews, *De Soto's Route from Cofitachequi, in Georgia, to Cosa, in Alabama* (reprint from *Amer. Anthropologist*, XIX, No. 1, 1917), pp. 65-67.

114. *Rivers*. Identified as the Great Ochoopee and Cannouchee rivers by Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 170, note).

115. *River*. Identified as the Ogeechee River by Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 170, note 2). See Rangel's account of these crossings (Bourne, II, 93). Some of the swine were lost here.

116. *Inland*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 96) gives the date as Friday, April 23. His details differ somewhat from the text. On that day, Gallegos went upstream to the northwest and Añasco downstream to the southeast. Next day, Lobillo was sent inland toward the north.

117. *Aymay*. Hymahi in Rangel (Bourne, II, 96). The word is possibly identical with Yamasee.

118. *Cutifachiqui*. Called Cofitachequi by Rangel (Bourne; II, 98) and Cofitachiqui by Fernández de Biedma (*ibid.*, p. 13). Swanton identifies it with Kasihta. For information relative to this place and conjecture regarding its location, see Swanton, Bull. No. 73, pp. 216-225; and Andrews, *ut supra*, p. 57, who locates it at Silver Bluff. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 172, note) says the word is a proper Creek word and means Dog-wood Town. Swanton (p. 216) says that the word was formerly considered to be a Yuchi word, but its appearance is Muskogean, and the leading Yuchi authority has been unable to find any Yuchi word resembling it. The latest information relative to Cufitachiqui comes from Miss Mary Ross, of Berkeley, California, who has given much study to this region.

In a note written especially for this volume, Miss Ross says: "It has been an error to have located Cufitachiqui on the Savannah River near Augusta. More misleading has been a confusion of the location of that place with the site of Atlanta. A recent study of the Soto, Pardo, and Woodward documents supplemented by a consultation of maps relative to the old southeast, and confirmed by field work in the district named has settled the question. The 'pearl kingdom' made famous by Soto's encounter with the gracious princess of that realm was in the valley of the Congaree-Broad in South Carolina. The dramatic meeting between the don and the Indian maid took place somewhere in the general vicinity of the present town of Columbia.

"In the colorful accounts of the resolute march of Soto's men through the Florida wilderness, the provincial name for the land of the cacica was given as Cofitachyque, Cofachiqui, and Cutifachiqui. In reports on subsequent expeditions, the region is known variously as Cafatachiqui, Cano or Canosi, Caphatachaques, Chufytachique, Chufytachyqj, Chufytachyque, Chufytuchyque, Cofaciqui, Cofetazque, Cofitachiqui, Cosatachiqui, Cotachico, Tachequiha, Tatikeyia, and other such appellations.

"Populous and numerous, the Cufitachiqui villages became renowned for their affluence and industry. For a full century and more that province served as a granary and way-station for expeditions en route to the interior. And on more than one occasion both Spaniards at Santa Elena (Parris Island) and Englishmen at Charlestown sought provisions and protection from the chieftains there. In times of strife the stalwart tribesmen '1000 bowmen' strong were no mean support against trouble making Westoes from the Savannah valley or wild folk from mountain fastnesses.

"Soto was the first European to covet the fruits of that Carolina land; but he was only the precursor of scores of other adventurous spirits seeking new fields to exploit. In the year 1566, Juan Pardo, intent on trans-continental trail blazing, passed through 'Canos or Cofetazque' in his effort to reach overland the distant mines of Zacatecas and San Martín. Copious streams, generous maize fields, rich vineyards, refreshing springs, and rumored mines of crystal, gold, and precious stones called forth the opinion from Pardo's men that therein was a 'land in which to plant a chief town.'

"Eight years later, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés subscribed to the same view when questioned about moving his estate to Pánuco, and he declared that he would keep

his dwelling near the Atlantic seaboard. Should he change it would be to the fertile interior near 'Guatari Cano.' In fact, Menéndez planned to establish his Asturian colonists in the Carolina foothills beyond the reaches of the lowlands and marshes that so beset agricultural ambitions at Santa Elena.

"Virginians, too, soon after the days of John Smith, sought 'crystal hills' and pearl bearing streams toward the southwest. And a half century after Menéndez's day other Spanish officials renewed diplomatic relations with the Cufitachiqui leaders and entered into an alliance against the blue-eyed strangers rumored to be riding about the country and pushing in from the north and west.

"Time passed; but the importance of Cufitachiqui did not lessen. Sedentary and stable, the villages persisted and continued to attract other white men by their bounteous maize fields and lucrative trade in deerskin and furs. In 1670, Henry Woodward, surgeon and interpreter for the Charlestown or Cayagua outpost, visited the "Chufytachique" country and entered into a league of friendship. Woodward's enthusiasm exceeded that of his Spanish predecessors and fired the imagination of royal adventurers in England. Cufitachiqui, to the worthy doctor, 'would be a second Paradise' if cultivated. Its broad acres and tall warriors, 'biger and ruder' than the coastal Indians, were vital to Charlestown; while its 'red mould' hills gave promise of hidden treasure beneath outcroppings of 'black and white Marble.' Here were enviable prospects. Both Locke and Ashley were impressed, and step by step the white man pushed in and occupied the west.

"The memory of Soto's camp has lived on. But Cufitachiqui, like the other Indian realms that gave Carolina such a rich historical inheritance has disappeared. Only the red mould hills, pleasant valleys, copious streams, and strange outcroppings of 'anvil rocks,' or rich deposits of splendid blue granite, remain today to tell the tale of that wondrous past."—Mary Ross.

119. *Sister*. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 13) says that the cacica sent her niece to welcome Soto to her country. She presented him a necklace of five or six strings of pearls. One-half the town was turned over to the Spaniards, but after three or four days, the cacica suddenly went off into the woods.

120. *Hens*. See *ante*, note 109.

121. *Arrobas*. The arroba is a measure of capacity of approximately four gallons; or of weight, of approximately twenty-five pounds. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 14) says that after the cacica had gone away (see *ante*, note 119), Soto, failing to find her, ordered the graves to be opened. Rangel (Bourne, II, 100) notes that he and Soto together opened the temple where "they found some bodies . . . fastened on a barbacoa. The breasts, belly, necks and arms and legs full of pearls"—in all about two hundred pounds.

122. *Ayllón*. Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón, of a noble family of Toledo, and a man of considerable learning, went to Isla Española (Hispaniola) with Nicolas Ovando, where he amassed considerable wealth. He filled several important posts in the island, finally becoming a member of the audiencia. In 1520, when about to go to

Spain, he was appointed commander of the forces sent to Mexico at the same time that Diego Velázquez sent thither Pánfilo de Narváez in his memorable effort to wrest the command from Cortés. Favoring the latter, he soon returned to Española, as he found it impossible to reconcile the two elements. The same year, 1520, he outfitted an expedition for the purpose of coasting northward along the Atlantic, with Francisco Gordillo as captain and Alonso Fernández Sotil as pilot. His two ships fell in with Pedro de Quexos who had gone on a slave hunting expedition, and the three vessels, joining forces, landed on the mainland, and disregarding Ayllón's orders seized many Indians. Possession of the new coast was taken on June 30, 1521. On their return to Española, the Indians were set free. Ayllón himself, who had not gone personally on the expedition, went to Spain in order to obtain royal concession to explore and settle the new lands. He was granted license to explore the mainland between 35° and 37° by a royal cedula of June 12, 1523 (see *Col. de Doc. inéd.* . . . *Amer.*, XIV, 503-515), being awarded the usual privileges in such cases. In 1525, he sent Pedro de Quexos on an exploring expedition along the mainland, who explored the coast for a distance of 250 leagues. In July, 1526, Ayllón himself sailed from Española with a company of five hundred people and eighty-nine horses and made a settlement at San Miguel de Gualdape, in about latitude 33°. The colony, however, did not prosper, disease broke out, the Indians were hostile, and, finally, the leader died. It was one of the exploring parties sent out from the expedition which left the articles found by Soto's men. See Fernández de Biedma's mention of this expedition in Bourne, II, 14; Lowery, *Spanish Settlements, 1531-1561*, pp. 157-159; Bolton, *Span. Borderlands* (New Haven, 1921), pp. 12-19; and J. A. Robertson, *List of Documents* (Washington, 1910). Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 14) says that the Spaniards found in the temple at Cufitachiqui "two wood axes of Castilian make, a rosary of jet beads, and some false pearls, which were taken from this country to traffic with the Indians." Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 100) says they found many glass beads and rosaries with their crosses as well as Biscayan axes of iron. See also Swanton, *Bull.* No. 73, pp. 32-34.

123. *Tierra Firme*. Havana later became the center at which the treasure and trading ships and fleets gathered for the return to Spain; and it was also the port whence the various vessels went to their respective ports in the Indies. For the early trade, see Clarence H. Haring, *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies* (Cambridge, 1918); and Gervasio de Artiñano y de Galdácano, *Historia del Comercio con las Indias durante el Dominio de los Austrias* (Barcelona, 1917). Santa Marta was the second city to be erected in the new world (July 28, 1525).

124. *May 3*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 102) says that the expedition left Cufitachiqui on Wednesday, May 13; but as Bourne points out (p. 102, note 5) May 13 of that year fell on Thursday, and the date should be Thursday, May 13, or Wednesday, May 12.

125. *Chalacque*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 102) says they reached Chalacque in two days. The name appears in Garcilaso de la Vega's narrative both as Chalacque and Chalagues. As Charles C. Royce asserts ("The Cherokee Nation of Indians," in *Fifth*

Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, 1887, p. 135), the word is apparently the same as "Cherokee." Royce also mentions (pp. 135-136) that the Dutch cartographer, Cornely Wytfliet lays down a site named Chalaqua on his map "Florida et Apalache" (Atlas, 1597) a short distance east of the Savannah River and immediately south of the Appalachian Mountains. In his "Carte de Mexique et de la Floride" (1703), Delisle locates Chalaque at about 33° north latitude. See also the Delisle map of 1718 reproduced in this volume [in Robertson, and herein].

126. *Hens*. See *ante*, note 109.

127. *Xualla*. Xuala in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 15) and Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 103); and Chouala in Garcilaso de la Vega. The word resembles the modern Cherokee word "Qualla." Rangel locates it on a plain between two rivers. It was in the territory of the Cherokees and has been variously located in northern Georgia and in North Carolina. James Mooney locates it in western North Carolina near the head of Broad River. Cyrus Thomas and others locate it in the Nacoochee Valley in Habersham County (see Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, p. 230, note 3). Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 176, note 2) locates it above the junction of the Tuckaseegee and Oconna-Luftee rivers in Swain County, North Carolina. Wytfliet in his map (see *ante*, note 125) locates it to the west of and near the headwaters of the Secco or Savannah River.

128. *Country*. These distances appear to be greatly exaggerated. The Spanish league was somewhat less than three English miles.

129. *Guaxule*. Guasule in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 15) and Guasili in Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 106). The latter (p. 104) says: "Tuesday, May 25, they left Xuala, and on that day went over a very high range, and at nightfall they encamped at a little mountain." Royce (*Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, p. 135) says of the Indians of this region: "Assuming that these people, whose territory De Soto thus traversed, were the ancestors of the modern Cherokees, it is the first mention made of them by European discoverers and more than a century anterior to the period when they first became known to the pioneers of permanent European occupation and settlement." Lowery (*Spanish Settlements*, p. 230) gives the route after leaving Xualla as lying across the Blue Ridge and so down the upper courses of the French Broad to Guaxule, an Indian town which he locates in White County, Georgia. French (*Hist. Col. of Louisiana*, II, 101) and Belknap (*American Biography*, Boston, 1794, I, 189) place the crossing at or about north lat. 35° (see Lowery, p. 230, note 4).

130. *Petaca*. Described in Rangel's narrative (Bourne, II, 104) as "baskets covered with leather and likewise ready to be so covered with their lids, for carrying clothes or whatever they want to." This was probably an interpolation by Oviedo. The "petaca" was probably much like the "tampipi" used in the Philippine Islands.

131. *Cutifachiqui*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 105-6) says that the cacica escaped on May 26 after they had waded through a river and that on the same day and thereabout several desertions occurred. He says: "And that day there remained behind, it was

supposed intentionally, Mendoça de Montanjes and Alaminos of Cuba. And since Alonso Romo kept that day the rearguard and left them, the Governor made him return for them, and they waited for them one day. When they arrived, the Governor wished to hang them. In that region of Xalague was left a comrade whose name was Rodriguez, a native of Peñañel; and also an Indian slave boy from Cuba, who knew Spanish, and belonged to a gentleman named Villegas; and there was left a slave belonging to Don Carlos, a Berber, well versed in Spanish; and also Gomez, a Negro belonging to Vasco González who spoke good Spanish. That Rodriguez was the first, and the rest deserted further on from Xalague." This occurred, of course, before reaching Guaxule.

132. *Chiaba*. Chiha in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 15) and in Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 107); and Ychiaha in Garcilaso. A great deal of confusion seems to exist with regard to the location of this place. Swanton (Bull. No. 73, pp. 167-72) thinks there were at least three sites so named. Two of them are mentioned in the Soto narratives—one being that which had some relation to the settlement of Cufitachiqui and was known also as Lameco or Solameco (perhaps the Jalameco or Talimeco of Rangel—see Bourne, II, 98, 101—and the Talomico of Garcilaso, fol. 169). Of this name, Swanton says (p. 168), "I venture the suggestion that all these names are intended for the same word, Talimico or Talimiko, which again was probably from Creek Talwa immiko, 'town its chief' *wa* being uniformly dropped in composition." The "Chiha" of the immediate text is that which lay down the river from Guaxule. Of it Garcilaso says (*La Florida del Inca*, fols. 181-182) that after a four days' stay in Guaxule where he informed himself of the country round about, Soto "went in a march of six days (at the rate of five leagues per day) to another village and province called Ychiaha, whose lord had the same name. The route taken on this march of six days was that following the water of the many creeks which flowed by Guaxule, all of which uniting within a short time made a large river, so that at Ychiaha (which was located thirty leagues from Gualuxe [*sic*]) it was larger than the Guadalquivir at Seville.

"This town of Ychiaha was located at the point of a large island more than five leagues wide which was formed by the river." For conjectures regarding the location of the town, see Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, p. 231, note 2. Belknap (*American Biographies*, p. 192) thinks it was located on a branch of the Mobile River. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 178, note 2) conjectures that Chiha was located on the island at the junction of the Little Tennessee and Tennessee rivers, in Loudon County, Tennessee—that is, it is the hill village noted by Swanton.

133. *Canasagua*. Canasoga in Rangel (Bourne, II, 106). Lowery (*Spanish Settlements*, p. 231) calls it a frontier town of the Cherokees.

134. *July 5*. Hakluyt (p. 59) corrects this date silently to June 5, the date given by Rangel (Bourne, II, 107), which is the right date (see Bourne, I, 73, note 4).

135. *Them*. See *ante*, note 132.

136. *Quiet*. Hakluyt says (p. 60) "the weather was very hot."

137. *Slaves*. Of the stay in Chiaha, Rangel says (Bourne, II, 108): "The Indians spent fifteen days with the Christians in peace, and they played with them, and likewise among themselves. They swam with the Christians and helped them in every way. They ran away afterwards on Saturday, the 19th of the month, for something that the Governor asked of them; and, in short, it was because he asked for women. The next day in the morning the Governor sent to call the chief and he came immediately; and the next day the Governor took him off with him to make his people come back, and the result was they came back. In the land of this Chiaha was where the Spaniards first found fenced villages. Chiaha gave them five hundred carriers, and they consented to leave off collars and chains."

138. *Town*. See *ante*, note 137.

139. *Acoste*. Costeche in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 15), Coste in Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 109), and Acoste in Garcilaso (*La Florida del Inca*, fols. 184-185). Swanton (Bull. No. 73, p. 201) identifies the Indians of this region with the Koasati, who were closely related to the Alabama.

140. *Chisca*. Identified by Swanton (Bull. No. 73, pp. 288, 289) as a name for the Yuchi Indians (see also pp. 119, 120, 189, 202, 292-293). Swanton locates the province of Chisca "in the rough country in the eastern part of the present state of Tennessee."

141. *Chiaba*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 108) says the expedition left Chiaha on Monday, June 28, and after passing through five or six villages spent the night in a pine grove near a village.

142. *Come*. This incident as described by Rangel (Bourne, II, 109-110) is in fair accord with our text.

143. *Kid*. Evidently a buffalo robe.

144. *July 9*. On Friday, according to Rangel (Bourne, II, 111).

145. *Road*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 111) discloses the reason for the peaceful reception by the cacique of Tali, namely, that Soto had frustrated his attempt to send away the women and children, and the clothing. For the Tali Indians, see Swanton, Bull. No. 73, pp. 211-212.

146. *July 16*. Hakluyt (p. 55) says July 26; and the English translation (1686) of the French edition of 1685, the 15th. The town Coça (Coosa) has usually been located in what is now Talladega County, Alabama (see Bourne, II, 112, note 12, and Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, p. 232, and note 3). Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 183, note) says, however, that this village may not have been in the same location as that of later times. The Luna expedition also reached this region about twenty years after Soto (see Priestley, *The Luna Papers*, index; also "Invasion of De Soto in Alabama" in De Bow's *Review of the Southern and Western States*, July, 1850). For the Indians called Coosa, see Swanton, Bull. No. 73, pp. 215, 241, 255. They have generally been considered a genuine Muskogee people. On the way to Coça, Rangel says (p. 111) they slept at a town called Tasqui, which Swanton (Bull. No. 73, p. 208) conjectures may have been occupied by the Tuskegee Indians. [Today the Little Egypt site in

northwestern Georgia is identified as the principal town of the Coosa chiefdom (see David J. Hally, Marvin T. Smith, and James B. Langford, Jr., "The Archaeological Reality of De Soto's Coosa" in Thomas, ed., *Columbian Consequences*, vol. 2, p. 122).—[JH]

147. *Seeds*. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 16) calls Coça "one of the finest countries we discovered in Florida." Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 112) says: "There were in Coça many plums like the early ones of Seville, very good; both they and the trees were like those of Spain. There were also some wild apples like those called canavales in Extremadura, small in size."

148. *Carrying*. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 16) simply says: "The next morning we saw all the inhabitants, and having detained the cacique, that he might give us persons to carry our loads, we tarried some days until we could get them." Rangel (*ibid.*, pp. 112-113) corroborates the statements of the text, though very briefly.

149. *Tascaluca*. Tazsaluza in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 16) and Tascaluca in Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 115). It is laid down on the 1718 map of Delisle. The name was applied both to the cacique and the region.

150. *Tallimuchase*. Talimachusy in Rangel (Bourne, II, 113). The name means New Town (Swanton, Bull. No. 73, p. 247). Rangel (Bourne, II, 113) says that a Levantine named Feryada deserted at this place.

151. *Ytaua*. Itaba in Rangel (Bourne, II, 113). The same author says that some women were bought at that place in exchange for mirrors and knives. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, appendix H, p. 452, suggests (following Mooney) that this region is identical with Yta or Etiwaw.

152. *Ullibahali*. Ulibahali in Rangel (Bourne, II, 113), and Olibahali in Dávila Padilla (*Historia de la Fundación y Discurso de la Provincia de Santiago de Mexico, de la Orden de Predicadores*, Madrid, 1596, lib. I, Cap. LXII, pp. 245-246). Swanton (Bull. No. 73, pp. 192, 254) says it was a true Muskogee town and identifies it with Liwahali or Holiwahali, "a name which signifies 'to share out or divide war' (*holi*, war, *awahali*, to divide out)." See also Priestley, *The Luna Papers*, I, 225, where Fray Domingo de la Anunciación and others, writing to Luna y Arellano, at Coosa, August 1, 1560, says the town of Ulibaali, "the town mentioned so often by Soto's followers" was probably only five or six leagues away.

153. *Place*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 113-114) says there was a doubt as to whether Manzano had deserted or whether he lost his way. A Negro named Johan Biscayan, belonging to Rodriguez Lobillo, and who spoke Spanish, also deserted at this place. This Negro and one of the Spanish deserters lived for eleven or twelve years among the Indians, as was learned by one of the religious attached to the Luna y Arellano expedition (see Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, p. 365, who cites Dávila Padilla).

154. *Toasi*. Tuasi in Rangel (Bourne, II, 114); identified as Tawasa by Swanton (Bull. No. 73, p. 137). Rangel notes that thirty-two Indian women were given to Soto at this place.

155. *Tallise*. Italsi in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 16) and Talisi in Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 115). A Creek town identified as Talsi (Tulsa) by Swanton (Bull. No. 73, p. 151).

156. *Indians*. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 16) says that the cacique made Soto a present of twenty-six or twenty-seven women at Talisi. See Rangel (*ibid.*, pp. 117-119), for an interpolated homily by Oviedo on the greed and lust of Soto's men.

157. *Casiste*. Also Casiste in Rangel (Bourne, II, 116). Identified by Swanton (Bull. No. 73, pp. 131, 218, 221) as a Lower Creek town inhabited by Kasihta Indians. Rangel says they reached this place on Tuesday, October 5.

158. *Time*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 116) says that after leaving Casiste they came to the towns of Caxa, Humati, and Uxapita. Caxa was the first town belonging to the district of Tastaluça (see Swanton, Bull. No. 73, p. 155).

159. *Built*. Both Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 16) and Rangel (*ibid.*, pp. 120-121) mention the commanding presence of the cacique of Tascaluça. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 186, note 2) says this is a correct Creek word meaning Black Warrior. Rangel calls the village where the cacique was found "Athahachi." The district is laid down by Delisle in his map of 1718. [Despite the quotation here, the term Tascaluça is not Creek but Western Muskogean (Choctaw/Chickasaw). The meaning Black Warrior is correct.—VJK]

160. *Motive*. This passage is translated by Hakluyt (p. 71) as follows: "How much the greater the will is, so much more giueth it name to the workes and the workes giue testimonie of the truth. Now touching my will, by it you shall know, how certain & manifest it is, and how pure inclination I haue to serue you." B. Smith translates as follows: "The greater the will the more estimable the deed; and acts are the living witness of truth. You shall learn how strong and positive is my will, and how disinterested my inclination to serve you."

161. *Piache*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 122) says Soto reached Piachi [*sic*] on Wednesday, and describes this town as a "village high above the gorge of a mountain stream." It was located near Mobile Bay (see Swanton, Bull. No. 73, p. 146). Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 188, note 1) thinks that Piache may have been located on the north side of the Black Warrior River. It was learned in this town (Rangel, p. 123) that a Spaniard and a Negro from the Narváez expedition had been killed.

162. *South*. See *ante*, note 128.

163. *Mavilla*. For various conjectures as to the location of Mavilla (Mauilla—a name surviving in the present "Mobile"), see Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, pp. 233-234, and note 4, and Lewis, *Spanish Explorers*, p. 189, note 1. For the Indians of this district, see Swanton, Bull. No. 73, pp. 150-160. See also Peter J. Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile* (Boston, 1910), pp. 22-25, and *Mobile of the Five Flags* (Mobile, 1913), pp. 26-27.

164. *October*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 123) agrees with the text as to this date. The former adds that it was St. Luke's day.

165. *Foot*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 123) says that Soto was accompanied by only forty horse.

166. *Eighteen*. B. Smith, doubtless in a moment of distraction, translates (*Narratives*, p. 89): "of the Christians there were killed there two hundred."

167. *Together*. See Fernández de Biedma's description of the fight (Bourne, II, 18-21); and that by Rangel (*ibid.*, pp. 123-128). The first says twenty Spaniards were slain and the second, twenty-two.

168. *November 18*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 128) says Sunday, November 14, which is the correct date.

169. *Cabusto*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 128-129) says they reached a village called Taliepacana on Thursday, November 28 (correct date, November 18), which was the Taliepataua of the text. To reach Cabusto (Zabusta in Rangel), the Spaniards, according to the latter, crossed a river at a village called Moçulixa. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 194, note 2) conjectures that Cabusto was located above the Sipsey River and west of the Tombigbee, and Moçulixa was located below the Sipsey and east of the Tombigbee.

170. *Chicaça*. Chicaza in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 22). The name is applied to a province, village, and river. Lowery (*Spanish Settlements*, pp. 235-236), following Gatschet, Irving, Shea, and Pickett, locates this region as lying "about the headwaters of the Yazoo and Mobile Rivers in what is now the State of Mississippi." Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 195, note 2) locates the town "about one mile northwest of the present Redland, in Pontotoc County, Mississippi." It was in the territory of the Chickasaws.

171. *Saquechuma*. Sacchuma in Rangel (Bourne, II, 132), who applies the name to the local chief of this district. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 196, note) locates the province of Saquechuma on the lower Tallahatchie River and says that the town burned by the Indians was probably located in the present Tallahatchie County.

172. *Fuentes*. Of these four men, Reynoso (Reinoso) and Ribera (Pedro de Rybera) seem to have returned from Florida (see B. Smith, *Narratives of the Career*, pp. 297, 298). Francisco Osorio was a kinsman of Antonio Osorio, son of the Marqués de Astorga (so in Solar and Rújula, p. 327, instead of the brother, as given in our text [herein, vol. 1]). Reynoso is perhaps the Francisco de Reinoso noted by Solar and Rújula, p. 327, who was the son of Gonzalo or Gregorio de Reinoso and Isabel de Escobar, of Boadilla. The Fuentes of the text may have been Fernand Sanchez de la Fuente, the son of Garcia Gonzalez de la Vera and Juana Martin, inhabitants of Valencia de la Torre (Solar and Rújula, p. 313).

173. *Man*. Hakluyt (p. 84) mistranslates this passage, saying "was held for a tall man."

174. *Her*. Francisca Hinestrosa, the only Spanish woman in the expedition. Her husband, Luis de Inostrosa (Ynistrosa), son of Juan Fernández de Inostrosa and Guiomar de Torres, of Seville, returned from Florida (see Solar and Rújula, p. 318, and B. Smith, *Narr.*, p. 292).

175. *Jerkins*. See Fernández de Biedma's account of the disaster, in Bourne II, 22-23, and Rangel's, in *ibid.*, pp. 132-134.
176. *Field*. Called Chicacilla, which Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 199, note) conjectures was located about three and one-half miles north of Chicaça.
177. 1541. Wednesday. Rangel (Bourne, II, 135), says the Indians attacked on Tuesday, March 15, in the morning watch, which is the correct date.
178. April 25. Rangel (Bourne, II, 136) says Tuesday, April 26—the correct date.
179. *Alimamu*. Alibamo in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 24) and Limamu in Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 136). The Indians of this region were the Alabama or Alibamo, an Upper Creek tribe (see Swanton, Bull. No. 73, pp. 191-201).
180. *Waiting*. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 200, note) says the fort and ford were on the Tallahatchie River, somewhere near New Albany, in the present Union County, Mississippi.
181. *Quizquiz*. Hakluyt's translation (p. 89) is at fault here. Quizquiz is called Quizqui by Rangel (Bourne, II, 137). See Swanton, Bull. No. 73, p. 293.
182. *River*. This was the Mississippi, which is called Espiritu Santo by Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 25).
183. *Flaunting*. Hakluyt (p. 169) says "shielding themselves"; and B. Smith (*Narratives*, p. 104), "covering themselves."
184. *Hereafter*. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 204, note) places the crossing of the Mississippi either at the present Council Bend or Walnut Bend, in Tunica County, Mississippi, below Memphis. Bourne (II, 138, note 3) places it below Memphis and above the mouth of the Arkansas. See also Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, p. 237, and note 2. The attempt to locate the point of the crossing has been the subject of considerable debate. See special bulletin, No. 1, of the Mississippi Historical Society, edited by Dunbar Rowland, namely, *A Symposium on the Place of Discovery of the Mississippi River by Hernando de Soto* (Jackson, Mississippi, 1927). Those who participated in the symposium were Theodore H. Lewis, J. P. Young, Charles A. Barton, and Dunbar Rowland. See T. H. Lewis, "Route of De Soto's Expedition from Taliepacana to Huhasene," pp. 19-20 of *A Symposium* (also in *Pubs. of the Mississippi Historical Society*, VI, 456-457).
185. *Casqui*. Icasqui in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 26); both Quarqui and Carqui in Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 138); and Casquin in Garcilaso de la Vega (fol. 231); Swanton (Bull. No. 73, pp. 213-214) connects the name with the Indians variously called Kaskinampo, Caskinampo, Kaskinoba, Caskemampo, Cakinonpa, Kakinonba, Karkinonpols, Kasquinanipo, and says that the name was also applied to the Tennessee River. See also Lewis, "Route of De Soto's Expedition," in *Pubs. of the Mississippi Historical Society*, VI, 457.
186. *Crossed*. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 206, note) identifies the small river as Fifteen-Mile Bayou, and the locality as probably near the southeast corner of St. Francis County, Arkansas.

187. *Acorns*. Probably pecans.

188. *Gray*. Identified by B. Smith (*Narratives*, p. 223) as *Diospyros Virginiana* and *Diospyros Texana*. [The Portuguese that Robertson rendered as "gray" is *pardo*. Although *pardo* can mean "dark gray," it is used more commonly for "brown," the color of a mulatto, which is another of the meanings of *pardo*.—JH]

189. *Town*. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 206, note) conjectures that this town was located near the mouth of the present Tyronza River. Of the town and the stay of the Spaniards there, Rangel says (Bourne, II, 138–139): "It was Saturday when we entered his village, and it had very good cabins, and, in the principal one, over the door, were many heads of very fierce bulls, just as in Spain noblemen who are sportsmen mount the heads of wild boars or bears."

190. *Suffered*. Of the cross, Rangel (Bourne, II, 139) says: "There the Christians planted the cross on a mound, and they received and adored it with much devotion, and the blind and lame came to seek to be healed."

191. *Flowing*. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 208, note) identifies this as the present Tyronza River.

192. *Them*. The plight of the men is well described in an interpolation made by Oviedo in Rangel's narrative (Bourne, II, 130–131), as follows: "And that you may know, reader, what sort of a life these Spaniards led, Rodrigo Rangel, an eye-witness, says that among many other great hardships that men endured in this undertaking he saw a knight named Don Antonio Osorio, brother of the Lord Marquis of Astorga, wearing a short garment of the blankets of that country, torn on the sides, his flesh showing, no hat, bare-headed, bare-footed, without hose or shoes, a buckler on his back, a sword without a shield, amidst heavy frosts and cold. And the stuff of which he was made and his illustrious lineage made him endure his toil without laments such as many others made, for there was no one who could help him, although he was the man he was, and had in Spain two thousand ducats of income through the Church. And the day that this gentleman saw him he did not believe that he had eaten a mouthful, and he had to dig for it with his nails to get something to eat."

"I could hardly help laughing when I heard that this knight had left the Church and the income above mentioned to go in search of such a life as this, at the sound of the words of De Soto."

193. *Cowhide*. Buffalo hide.

194. *June 19*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 139) gives the date of the arrival at Pacaha as Wednesday, June 29; but our text is here correct. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 209, note) gives the probable location of Pacaha as in the vicinity of the present Osceola, Mississippi County, Arkansas, but not any farther toward the north (see also Lewis, "Route of De Soto's Expedition," p. 457).

195. *Above*. Inquiry as to the identity of the several kinds of fish mentioned in the text brought the following information from Dr. Lewis Radcliffe, acting commissioner of the Bureau of Fisheries at Washington: "The *bagre* no doubt refers to a species of catfish. Judging by the large size of the fish and its large head, as described,

it was most likely the mud catfish, *Leptops olivaris*. However, there is also a possibility that the author had in mind the blue catfish *Ictalurus furcatus*. Indeed, both species might have been seen in the vicinity, since both are of a large size and quite common in the rivers draining into the Gulf of Mexico. The word *barbo* is used in Spanish and French for several species of freshwater fish. The British name for those species is 'barbel.' The species to which these names are applied are wide-spread throughout Europe, including Portugal. Judging from the distribution of the species and the similarity of the names in England, France, and Spain, it seems quite likely that the name *barbo* is also applied in Portugal to the same fishes. None of the species of the barbels occur in American waters, but our species of suckers resembles in general appearance the European barbels, and to a lesser extent the same may be said in regard to our buffalofishes. There are several species of suckers and buffalofishes in American waters; but from the author's statement it is impossible to assert which one of these he had in mind. In a list of the common names of fishes in Portuguese, the name *choupa* is applied to *Sargus rondeletti* and *besugo* to *Pagellus acarne*. Neither of these species, both of which are spiny-rayed fishes, occurs in the waters of the United States. The Portuguese *choupa* is shaped something like our bream and the *besugo* resembles our black bass. Since the author evidently described only the larger fishes, two possibilities suggest themselves: he had in mind either the black bass (and in some of them, especially in large specimens, the body is fairly deep) or the freshwater drum. Since he states that it was the 'most relished,' he probably had in mind the large-mouth black bass, *Micropterus salmoides*. The *peixe palla* was undoubtedly the spoonbill, *Polyodon spathula*. The description of the snout combined with the lack of scales, as stated by the author, applies to no other American species, and it fairly characterizes the spoonbill. [The official common name of the fish here called "spoonbill" is the paddlefish—VJK] The name *savel* (plural *saves*) is applied to two species of European shad, *Alosa alosa* and *Alosa finta*. A species of shad, *Alosa alabama*, occurs in the gulf drainage, although it is now quite rare. The author may have seen this or one of two other fishes, namely, the gizzard shad, *Dorosoma cepedianum*, and the menhaden, *Brevoortia patronus*. These two latter species resemble the shad in appearance, although they usually do not grow over a foot in length. There are several other clupeoid fishes in the waters of Florida, which have some resemblance to the shad, although they are of small size. It is impossible to identify the *peixe pereu* with any exactness. The names *peixe prego* and *peixe porco* are applied to species of sharks in Portugal. Judging from the author's comparison of the fish to a hog, a fish having a deep body is suggested. The following three species, which are found in these waters, are quite common and have rather deep bodies, namely, the fresh-water drum or gaspergou, *Aplodinotus grunniens*, the black drum, *Pogonias chromis*, and the jew-fish, *Promicrops itaiara*. The first named is a strictly fresh-water fish. The black drum is typically a salt-water fish, but is also common in brackish water; while the third is a salt-water species."

See also B. Smith, *Narratives*, pp. 223-226. It should be noted that the words "era de tamanho de Picoes," which have been translated "were as long as a pike" refer to "pike" the weapon and not "pike" the fish.

196. *Find*. See the accounts of these two chiefs in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 26-29) and Rangel (*ibid.*, pp. 136-146).

197. *Caluçá*. Caluç in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 30). Swanton (Bull. No. 73, p. 214) says of this district: "This would seem to be the Choctaw or Chickasaw Oka lusa, 'black water,' from which we may possibly infer the Muskogean connection of Casquin, but, on the other hand, the name may have been obtained from interpreters secured east of the Mississippi, and may be nothing more than a translation of the original into Chickasaw." The word apparently has no connection with the Calusa Indians of the Florida peninsula. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 212, note) tentatively locates the province of Caluçá in the northeastern part of the present state of Mississippi, extending from Baldwyn, Prentiss County, to the Tennessee River in Tishomingo County.

For the route of the expedition west of the Mississippi, see Theodore H. Lewis, "Route of De Soto's Expedition from Taliepacana to Huhasene," in *Pubs. of the Mississippi Historical Society*, VI (Oxford, Mississippi, 1902), pp. 449-467.

198. *Plums*. Probably persimmons.

199. *Cattle*. The bison.

200. *Quiguat*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 146) says that Quiguat was the largest village the Spaniards had seen in that region (in which he agrees with our text) and that it was located on the Casqui River.

201. *Mochila*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 144) says that Casqui gave one of his daughters to Soto and that Pacaha gave him one of his own wives, besides a sister and another Indian woman of rank. Oviedo (Bourne, II, 145) moralizes as follows: "But I could wish that along with the excellencies of the cross and of the faith that this Governor explained to these chiefs, he had told them he was married, and that the Christians ought not to have more than one wife, or to have intercourse with another, or to commit adultery; that he had not taken the daughter whom Casqui gave him, nor the wife and sister and the other woman of rank whom Pacaha gave him; and that they had not got the idea that the Christians, like the Indians, could have as many wives and concubines as they desired, and like the Indians, live as adulterers."

202. *Aquiguate*. See *ante*, note 200. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 214, note 1) locates this town on the west side of the St. Francis River, in what is now the northern part of Lee County, or in the southern part of St. Francis County, Arkansas.

203. *Swamp*. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 214, note 2) conjectures that this may have been Lake Mitchigamia of the French maps, which ceased to exist after the New Madrid earthquake. This lake is shown on the great Delisle map of 1718 on which the route of Soto is marked. The cartographer shows the route to have passed near a vague location which he calls Lac de Mitchigamia.

204. *Coligoa*. Coligua in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 31) and Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 146).

205. *Marshes*. "Lakes" in B. Smith's translation (p. 121) and in Hakluyt (p. 107).

206. *Leagues*. Hakluyt (p. 107) says "one hundred leagues."

207. *Streamlets*. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 31) says that on the way to Coligoa, they went at "night to the swamps, where we drank from the hand and found abundance of fish." Rangel says (*ibid.*, p. 146) the Spaniards left Quiguat on Friday, August 26, reaching their destination at the village of Coligoa on the following Thursday, September 1, journeying on the way from swamp to swamp to the number of four swamps. In these swamps or pools they found "no end of fish, because all that country is flooded by the great river when it overflows its banks." Lewis, *Spanish Explorers* (p. 215, note 1), conjectures that the four swamps of Rangel were the L'Anguille River, Big Creek, Bayou de Vue, and Cache River.

208. *Town*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 146-47) says that they came twice to the river of Coligoa before they reached the town itself; and he adds: "They found it populated, and from it they took much people and clothes, and a vast amount of provisions and much salt. It was a pretty village, between some ridges along the gorge of a great river. And from there, at midday, they went to kill some cows, of which there are many wild ones." Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 216, note 1) says the town lay in the valley of the Little Red River, and that before reaching it the Spaniards crossed the White River below the mouth of Little Red River, in what is now Woodruff County, Arkansas.

209. *Palisema*. According to Rangel (Bourne, II, 147), the Spaniards left Coligoa on Tuesday, September 6, and after recrossing the river and some mountains, reached a town called Calpista on Wednesday, "where there was an excellent salt spring which distilled very good salt in deposits." This spring, says Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 216, note 2), was located on the bank of Little Red River, in what is now Cleburne County. Palisema is called Palisma by Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 147), who says it was reached on Thursday (September 8).

210. *Tatalicoya*. Called Tutilcoya by Rangel (Bourne, II, 147), who says that on Saturday, September 10, the expedition encamped beside some water. On Sunday, they reached a town called Quixila, "where they rested over Sunday." They reached Tutilcoya on Tuesday. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 32) says they went under direction of their guides to some scattered settlements called Tatil Coya, where they found a river of considerable size which emptied into the Mississippi.

211. *Cayas*. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 32) says they went upstream to a great province called Cayas. This was evidently a district of scattered settlements, as noted in our text. There seems to have been some confusion in Rangel's account (see Bourne, II, 147) with regard to this district, which that author calls Cayase. Rangel says "they were never able to see that place or discover it; and subsequently they were told that they had left it near the river." Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 217, note

2) says that Cayas was located in what is now the northern part of Arkansas and Oklahoma. He connects the word with the appellation "Kansas" (see "Route of De Soto's Expedition" in *Pubs. of the Miss. Hist. Soc.*, VI, 458, note 20).

212. *Tanico*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 147) says that on Thursday, after having passed the night near a swamp, the Spaniards went to the district and town of Tanico, which was confused with Cayas by some. Tanico, according to Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 217, note 3) was on the east side of the Grand or Neosho River. It was probably a part of the district of Cayas.

213. *Pot*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 148): "One ought not to omit and leave in forgetfulness that in Cayase our Spaniards gathered baskets of dry sand from the river and strained water through it, and there came out a brine, and they boiled it down, and let it harden, and in that way made excellent salt, very white and of good flavour."

214. *Wounded*. Rangel (Bourne, II, 148) says the expedition left Tanico on Wednesday, October 5, reaching the town of Tula on Friday, October 7. On Saturday, the fight with the Indians occurred, during which one Hernandarias de Saavedra, grandson of the marshall of Seville, was wounded. Fernández de Biedma (*ibid.*, pp. 32-33) says that in going to Tula, they "passed over some rough hills." He says that the Indians wounded some seven or eight men and nine or ten horses; while the Spaniards killed some thirty or forty of the Indians. His account is quite similar to that of our text.

215. *Sheep*. These cattle were the American bison.

216. *Ridges*. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 221, note) identifies these ridges as the Boston Mountains.

217. *Quipana*. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 34) says that after leaving Quipana the route lay eastward across the mountains and down to the plains. This town is called Guipana by Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 149). Lewis, "Route of De Soto's Exped.," p. 459, note 23, connects this word with "Pani" or "Pawnee." The province of Guahate mentioned below has not been identified.

218. *Catamaya*. Quitamaya in Rangel (Bourne, II, 149), which was reached on Monday, October 31.

219. *Autiamque*. Viranque in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 34) and Utiangue in Rangel (*ibid.*, p. 149). Rangel says that on Tuesday, November 1, they passed through a small village and reached Utiangue on Wednesday, November 2. The narrative by Rangel ends at this point. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 222, note 2) locates Autiamque within thirty miles of Fort Smith, on the south bank of the Arkansas River.

220. *Safety*. Hakluyt (p. 115) translates this passage as follows: "They tooke some Indians which were gathering together the stuff which their wives had hidden."

221. *Autiamque*. The words "of Autiamque" were omitted by B. Smith.

222. *Tietiquaquo*. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 223, note) says this town was located in the province of Chaguato (see *post*, note 250).

223. *Ortiz*. The death of Juan Ortiz is merely noted without comment by Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 34).

224. *Ayays*. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 225, note 1) points out that this province must not be confused with that of Aays, which was located south of Red River in Texas. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 34) says that after leaving Autiamque (Viranque), the Spaniards followed the course of the river to a province called Anicoyanque, which probably corresponds to the Nilco or Anilco of our text.

225. *River*. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 225, note 2) says that the place where they crossed the river lay north of the present Pine Bluff, and was probably in the present Jefferson County.

226. *Swamps*. Hakluyt says the region had many lakes.

227. *Tutelpinco*. Located by Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 225, note 3) on Big Bayou Meto, in the present Jefferson County.

228. *Bastian*. Francis Sebastian in Hakluyt (p. 119). The name Francisco Sebastian occurs in the list given by Solar and Rújula, p. 309. He was the son of Alonso Sebastian and Juana Macias, both of the town of Villanueva de Barcarrota. The town of Tianto mentioned below has not been identified.

229. *Swamp*. Translated "lake" by Hakluyt (p. 120) and by B. Smith (*Narratives*, p. 136).

230. *Nilco*. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 226, note) locates Nilco a few miles southeast of the present Arkansas Post, on the Arkansas River, in Desha County. There is a large mound there. See *ante*, note 224.

231. *Margaridetas*. Translated "margaritas" in Hakluyt (p. 120). Literally a small pearl; perhaps here a small trade bead made from shell.

232. *Swamp*. "Lake" in Hakluyt (p. 121) and in B. Smith (*Narr. of the Career*, p. 137).

233. *Guachoya*. See *post*, note 235.

234. *Quigaltam*. See *post*, note 298.

235. *Guachoya*. Guachoya is located by Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 227, note 1) in the neighborhood of the present Arkansas City, on the Mississippi River, in Desha County, and perhaps at or near the large mound north of that city. This place is called "Guachoyanque" by Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 34-35), who says the town was "good, well and strongly fenced."

236. *April 17*. If the date of November 1 of the preceding year fell on Tuesday, as given by Rangel (see *ante*, note 219) is correct, then April 17 fell on Monday.

237. *Ri*. The Tamaliseu was probably the Arkansas; the Tapatu, the Mississippi; the Mico, perhaps the Coosa; and the Ri (evidently for Rio), the stream near where the expedition first entered Florida. There seems to be some confusion about this passage in B. Smith's translation.

238. *Were*. Hakluyt (p. 124) adds "every day," but these words are not in the original.

239. *Backward*. B. Smith (*Narr. of the Career*, p. 141) wrongly makes the reply of the chief a direct discourse; it is only a reported speech.

240. *Brazas*. The braza is a measure about equivalent to the fathom.

241. *Die*. Hakluyt (p. 127) translates this passage as follows: "These mens sinnes by Gods permission lighted on their own heads: who, because they would seeme valiant, became cruel; showing themselves extreme cowards in the sight of all men, when as most neede of Valour was required, and afterward they came to a shameful death."

242. *Alvarado*. See *ante*, note 10.

243. *Fitting*. Fernández de Biedma's only comment on the death of Soto is the dry remark (Bourne, II, 35): "The governor, at seeing himself surrounded, and nothing coming about according to his expectation, sickened and died. He left us recommending Luis de Moscoso to be our Governor." Cf. with this and the text, the touching remarks of Antonio Pigafetta after Ferdinand Magellan's death, in James A. Robertson, *Magellan's Voyage around the World by Antonio Pigafetta* (Cleveland, 1906), I, 177-179.

244. *River*. Garcilaso de la Vega (*La Florida del Inca*, fol. 272) says: Soto was buried in the river by Juan de Añasco, Juan de Guzmán, Arias Tinoco, Alonso Romo de Cardenosa, and Diego Arias. They were assisted by a Basque sailor and engineer, named Joannes de Abbadia. The corpse was buried with all secrecy (the men making signs as if they were going fishing) in the middle of the river in water having a depth of nineteen brazas and a width of a quarter of a league.

245. *Hogs*. This refers to Soto's property at the place of his death. See Soto's will (which was made in Cuba on May 13, 1539, shortly before the departure for Florida) in Solar and Rújula, pp. 207-221 (reproduced from the original manuscript in AI, 502-55/10, Papeles de Justicia, numero 750, pieza 1^a, fols. 42-51); and a translation into English made from the original manuscript, in B. Smith, *Narr. of the Career*, pp. 273-280. See also Solar and Rújula, pp. 223-273 (original in AI, 502-55/10, *op. cit.*, fols. 306-333), for the list of possessions left by Soto in Spain and the prices they fetched at auction. Garcilaso de la Vega (*op. cit.*, fol. 271) says that Soto had spent over 100,000 ducats on his expedition.

246. *Obtained*. Garcilaso de la Vega (*op. cit.*, fol. 270) notes that Moscoso had been deprived of the post of *maestre de campo* after the disaster at Chicaça.

247. *Leagues*. Hakluyt (p. 133) says wrongly "four hundred leagues."

248. *June 5*. Monday apparently fell on June 5.

249. *Catalte*. This region has not been identified, but it lay west of Guachoya. It is called "Catayet" on the map (see p. 418 [of Robertson—Ed.]).

250. *Chaguete*. Called Chavite (meaning "salt"—see Lewis, "Route of De Soto's Exped.," p. 461) by Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 35-36), who says that they traveled for seventeen days from Guachoyante (Guachoya) to Chavite. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 236, note) conjectures that this district may have been located on the

present Saline River in Saline County. The same author notes that the expedition turned south-southeast at this point. Fernández de Biedma says they turned "southwest-and-by-south."

251. *Reward*. B. Smith (*Narratives*, p. 152) omits everything in this discourse after this point.

252. *Lake*. Probably more of a marsh than a lake.

253. *Guzmán*. Apparently this was Francisco de Guzmán, son of Benito Rodriguez and Francisca Hernández, inhabitants of Seville. See Solar and Rújula, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

254. *July 4*. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 36) says it took the men three days to reach Aguacay, and that it lay due west from Chaguete. The same author adds: "After leaving this place, the Indians told us we should see no more settlements unless we went down in a southwest-and-by-south direction, where we should find large towns and food; that in the course we asked about, there were some large sandy wastes, without any people or subsistence whatsoever." July 4 fell on Tuesday.

255. *There*. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 238, note 2) locates this place a short distance from the present town of Arkadelphia on the west bank of the Ouachita River.

256. *July 20*. July 20 fell on Thursday.

257. *Naguatex*. Hakluyt (pp. 136-137) says, "They pitched their Campe at noone betweene Amaye and Naguatex along the corner of a grove of very faire trees." Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 239, note) conjectures that this was on Prairie de Roane near the present town of Hope.

258. *Were*. Hakluyt (p. 137) says wrongly "and what order they kept."

259. *River*. Identified by Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 210, note) as the present Little River in Hampstead County.

260. *River*. Identified by Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 241, note) as the present Red River.

261. *People*. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 242, note) identifies this ford as the present White Oak Shoals in Arkansas, three miles east of the Texas-Arkansas boundary.

262. *Six*. B. Smith (*Narratives*, p. 159) says wrongly "five."

263. [The Portuguese that Robertson translated as "miserable" is *prone*, which presumably was a misspelling of *pobre*.—JH] *Nisohone*. "Nisione" in Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 36).

264. *Lacane*. Probably the "Came" of Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 36).

265. *Nondacao*. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 36) uses the same form. This author says that the cacique of Nondacao furnished them a guide who purposely tried to lead them over rough country and off the road. The guide confessed that he did not know where he was guiding the Spaniards, but that he had been ordered to lead them into a region where they would die of hunger.

266. *Soacatino*. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 36) says: "We were obliged to

go where the Indian directed us, and went to a Province called Nisione, and to another called Nondacao, and another Came; and at each remove we went through lands that became more sterile and afforded less subsistence. We continually asked for a province which they told us was larger, called Xuacatino."

267. *Aays*. Properly Ayays. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 36-37) says: "We took another guide, who led us to a Province called Hais, where, in seasons, some cattle are wont to herd; and as the Indians saw us entering their country, they began to cry out: 'Kill the cows—they are coming'; when they sallied and shot their arrows at us, doing us some injury." Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 243, note) conjectures that this district is south of the present Gainesville, Texas, and that the town adjoined the "Lower Cross Timbers," on the prairie.

268. *Fight*. See preceding note.

269. *Nondacao*. Here, as elsewhere, the chief and his town are called by the same name. Hakluyt (p. 142) says "in Nondacao." It appears as "nōdacan" on the map (p. 418 [of Robertson—Ed.]).

270. *Christians*. Perhaps an echo of the Coronado expedition.

271. *Soacatino*. See *ante*, note 266. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 37) describes this district (which he also calls "Xacatin") as lying amid close forests and having little food. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 244, note 1) conjectures that this region was located in the present "Upper Cross Timbers." It appears on the map (p. 418 [of Robertson—Ed.]) as Cehocatin.

272. *Southward*. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 37) says: "Hence the Indians guided us eastward to other small towns, poorly off for food, having said that they would take us where there were other Christians like us, which afterwards proved false." After this, he says they turned south and "travelled about six days in a direction south and southwest, when we stopped."

273. *Guasco*. Identified by Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 244, note 2) as Waco, Texas. If one gives the "w" sound to the Spanish "Gu," which is so often heard, and drops the "s" of "Guasco," the name "Waco" results. Lewis conjectures that this town was evidently located on the Brazos River, near old Fort Belknap.

274. *Naçacahoz*. This and the town of Naquiscoça mentioned above are conjectured by Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 144, note 3) to lie in the Brazos valley, south-east of Guasco.

275. *Naçacahoz*. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 245, note 1) conjectures that this was the Double Mountain fork of the Brazos; and adds that the crossing was probably made at the south angle of the river, in the northwestern part of the present Fisher County.

276. *Daycao*. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 245, note 2) conjectures that the "unpeopled region" or "wilderness," as it is translated by B. Smith, was a forest. He points out that the continuous forest from old Fort Belknap to the eastern slope of the "Staked Plains" was the only one through which the men could have gone for ten days to the westward.

277. *Alqueire*. A dry or solid measure of 138 deciliters. The liquid alqueire is equivalent to 84 deciliters.

278. *Arabs*. The word "Alarve" (Arab) has the derived meaning of "boor" or "glutton."

279. *Come*. Of the determination to return to the Mississippi River, Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 38) says: "Reflecting that we had lost our interpreter, that we found nothing to eat, that the maize we brought upon our backs was failing, and it seemed impossible that so many people should be able to cross a country so poor, we determined to return to the town where the Governor Soto died, as it appeared to us there was convenience for building vessels with which we might leave the country."

280. *Montemor*. Estremóz is a town of Alemtejo, Portugal, twenty-three miles northeast of Evora. It is famous for its earthenware jugs and has a large trade in wool, and has many marble quarries rivaling those of Italy. Montemor is perhaps the Montemor Novo in Alemtejo, twenty-two miles north-northwest of Evora. See Lemos, *Encyclopedia Portuguesa ilustrada*.

281. *Christian*. See *ante*, p. 237, and note 253.

282. *Aays*. See *ante*, note 267.

283. *Chilano*. This town has not been identified.

284. *There*. Probably ropes were made of this fiber.

285. *Aminoya*. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 249, note 1) locates Aminoya above the mouth of the Arkansas River in the present Desha County. Hakluyt, in translating, uniformly uses the form "Minoya."

286. *Lethargy*. Perhaps malaria or dysentery.

287. *Sotis*. Hakluyt (p. 150) translates this passage "by their surname called Sotis."

288. *Fanegas*. The fanega is a dry measure of quantity equivalent to four alqueires (see *ante*, note 277), used for measuring grains and seeds. [*Fanegas* is often used as a measure of weight rather than volume, its weight is equivalent to 100 kilos. The *fanga*, the term for four alqueires of grain, was 1.57 bushels in Portugal and 4.12 bushels in Brazil.—JH]

289. *Daffodils*. *Abrotea*, literally "daffodil." Both Hakluyt (p. 151) and B. Smith (*Narratives*, p. 169) translate "hemp," which is more expressive.

290. *Tagoanate*. See *post*, note 293.

291. *Water*. Hakluyt (p. 151) translates this passage "because their places of refuge are in the water"; and B. Smith (*Narratives*, p. 170), "as their places of concealment were by the water's edge." The primary meaning of *colheita* is "harvest" or "fruits." It seems here to refer directly to the harvests which had perhaps been placed in *barbacoas* on islets. [There is no question but that *colheita* refers to harvest. The allusion to the "harvests" being "on the water" is probably simply a reference to the planted fields of as yet unharvested maize being close to the river in the floodplain, which most southeastern natives used for their agriculture.—JH]

292. *Them*. Hakluyt (p. 152) translates "for to goe to take them, they were neuer able." [The Portuguese that Robertson translated as "for there would have been no

remedy except to go to take them" is *porque pa lhas yr tomar nam auia remedeo*. From what precedes and follows this clause, the meaning of the Portuguese seems to be, "for there was no way for us to go to take them," which is close to the rendition that Hakluyt gave to this phrase. In the sentence that follows this passage, Elvas states that as soon as winter set in they were unable to move out with the horses needed for launching an attack to take the blankets.—[H]

293. *Taguanate*. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 253, note) says this province lay on the White River, and that the town so named was probably located in the southern part of the present Monroe County in Arkansas, possibly at Indian Bay.

294. *Brigantines*. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 38) says: "We returned by the same road we had taken, until we came to the town; but we did not discover so good outfits as we had thought to find. There were no provisions in the town, the Indians having taken them away, so we had to seek another town, where we might pass the winter and build the vessels. I thank God that we found two towns very much to our purpose, standing upon the Rio Grande, and which were fenced around, having also a large quantity of maize. Here we stopped, and with great labour built seven brigantines, which were finished at about the end of six months. We threw them into the water, and it was a mystery that, calked as they were with the bark of mulberry trees, and without any pitch, we should find them stanch and very safe."

295. *Canoes*. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 38-39) intimates that the canoes with the horses were taken along in case a large town were found on the seacoast where the expedition might be supported, while two of the brigantines were sent to New Spain "with a message to provide us with vessels in which we could get away from the country."

296. *Twenty-two*. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 39) says twenty-six horses were taken.

297. *Right*. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 255, note 1) says this arm of the river was a channel by which the Bayou Macon is connected with the Mississippi and that it is located in the northern part of the present Chicot County, Arkansas.

298. *Quigualtam*. Also spelt Quigaltam (see *ante*, note 234); "Quigualtanqui" in Garcilaso de la Vega, fol. 192. It lay on the opposite side of the Mississippi from Guachoya.

299. *Bluff*. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 255, note) conjectures that this bluff was the present Vicksburg Bluffs.

300. *Twenty-five*. Hakluyt (p. 159) says wrongly "fifteen."

301. *Determine*. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 39) says of the assaults by the Indians: "The second day, descending the stream, there came out against us forty or fifty very large and swift canoes, in some of which were as many as eighty warriors, who assailed us with their arrows, following and shooting at us. Some who were in the vessels thought it trifling not to attack them; so, taking four or five of the small canoes we brought along, they went after them. The Indians, seeing this, surrounded them, so that they could not get away, and upset the canoes, whereby twelve very

worthy men were drowned, beyond the reach of our succor, because of the great power of the stream, and the oars in the vessel being few."

302. *Rest*. Hakluyt (p. 161) says "lingered behind."

303. *Sea*. Hakluyt (p. 162) says "until they came to the sea."

304. *Seventeen*. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 39) says they reached the sea in nineteen days. He says (p. 39-40) that encouraged by their first success, the Indians kept up their attacks "doing us much damage and wounding many people; for, as they found we had no arms that could reach them from a distance, not an arquebuse nor a crossbow having remained, but only some swords and targets [shields—Ed.], they lost their fears, and would draw very nigh to let drive at us with their arrows."

305. *So*. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 259, note) points out that Garcilaso de la Vega increases this distance to 750 leagues, but that the real distance was about 720 miles.

306. *Sea*. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 40) says, "We came out by the mouth of the river, and entering into a very large bay made by it, which was so extensive that we passed along it three days and three nights, with fair weather, in all the time not seeing land, so that it appeared to us that we were at sea, although we found the water still so fresh that it could well be drunk like that of the river."

307. *Las Palmas*. Later called the Santander River and the River Soto la Marina, its present name. It enters the gulf 110 miles above Tampico. A large bar is formed at the mouth from the silt carried down by the current.

308. *Them*. This sentence is omitted by Hakluyt (p. 165).

309. *Sea*. Lewis (*Spanish Explorers*, p. 261, note) says that "at that time the Atchafalaya probably formed the lower course of Red River, the latter not having cut through to the Mississippi, and it was its current that they encountered."

310. *Keys*. Hakluyt (p. 166) mistranslates "creeks."

311. *Key*. *Ibid.* (p. 167).

312. *Fortune*. Hakluyt (p. 168) says "while they were in this tempest."

313. *Copee*. Cope, in Spanish. A name applied to various species of the genus *Clusia*. Two species, especially are known in Hispanic America, namely, *Clusia Rosea* or Cope grande; and *Clusia minor* or Cope chico. They are both found in Venezuela where they are called "cupay." Both kinds are used for their resinous qualities and are used, among other ways, in the calking of water craft. The text may refer, however, to some bituminous substance. This name apparently appears on the map [in Robertson] (p. 418).

314. *Islet*. Fernández de Biedma (Bourne, II, 40) says they went westward to some small islets.

315. *Better*. Cf. the procession made by the survivors of Magellan's ship, the *Victoria*, after landing in Spain in Robertson, *Magellan's Journey around the World by Antonio Pigafetta*, II, 189.

316. *Palmas*. See *ante*, note 307.

317. *Panico*. The River of Pánuco. This river, about 400 miles long, rises in the Valley of Mexico and enters the Gulf of Mexico six miles below the city of Tampico, now the great oil port of Mexico. The drainage of the Valley of Mexico, a stupendous accomplishment, takes place through a canal and tunnel emptying into one of the branches of the Pánuco River. This stream, notwithstanding the formidable bar at its mouth, is navigable for deep draft vessels to Tampico and to vessels of light draft to the city of Pánuco.

318. *Panico*. The town of Pánuco. This town was founded in 1520 at the orders of Cortés by Gonzalo de Sandoval, who called it San Sebastián del Puerto. Its Aztec name "Pánuco" means "place settled by persons who came by sea." It is located on the Pánuco River, about eighty miles from the Gulf of Mexico by water, but only about forty by land. Pánuco was the capital city of a former administrative unit of New Spain, also called Pánuco, which was bounded on the north by the Nuevo Reino de León and part of the audiencia of Guadalajara, on the east by the gulf, on the south by the provinces of Tlaxcala and Mexico, and on the west by the Reino de Michoacán. During the eighteenth century, it formed part of Nuevo Santander. In that century it had about 500 families and near the close of the nineteenth, about 9,000 inhabitants. The district was first visited by men of the expeditions of Garay. See Antonio de Alcedo, *Diccionario Geográfico Histórico de las Indias Occidentales* (Madrid, 1788), IV, 55; and Espasa, *Enciclopedia universal*, XLI, 900.

319. *Mendoza*. Antonio de Mendoza, the first viceroy of New Spain, was born in 1490, in the fortress of Alcalá la Real along the Granada border. His father, Íñigo López de Mendoza, second conde de Tendilla, was captain general of the forces that were investing Granada. The family is said to trace back to the celebrated Spanish hero, the Cid, and thence to some of the best Roman and Gothic families. He was appointed viceroy of New Spain in April, 1535, and reached Mexico in October of the same year. In 1547, he was transferred to the viceroyalty of Peru, with his seat at Lima. He died in that city on June 21, 1552, and was buried beside Francisco Pizarro, the great conqueror of Peru. In an age of narrow bigotry, he was characterized by an unusual breadth of mind (for that period), and was above all an excellent organizer and administrator. See Arthur S. Aiton, *Antonio de Mendoza* (Durham, 1927); and Ciriaco Pérez Bustamante, *Don Antonio de Mendoza* (Santiago, 1928).

320. [Robertson's expression "they had ported there three hundred men" seems awkward. "Three hundred men had arrived in port there" would be better.—JH]

Men. Hakluyt (p. 173) says "three hundred and eleven men," thus giving the correct number as noted above. See also B. Smith (*Narratives*, pp. 292-299), "A Memoir of the names of persons who came from Florida, who they are, and of what countries natives." This shows a list of slightly over two hundred names. In the same volume, Smith publishes also two documents relative to the followers of Soto, as follows: 1. Letter to the king from the viceroy of New Spain, with testimony in behalf of Garcia Osorio, soliciting the royal favor, 1560, pp. 299-300. 2. Memorial of Alonso Vaz-

quez to the king of Spain, petitioning for certain privileges, and permission to reside in Florida, together with the testimony of persons as to his services in the army of Hernando de Soto, during the invasion of that province, pp. 301-312.

321. *Mestitam Mexico*. Mestitam is undoubtedly a corruption of the word "Tenochtitlan," the Aztec name for the City of Mexico. The form of "Mestitan" occurs in Genaro Garcia's edition of Bernal Diaz del Castillo, *Conquista de la Nueva Espana* (Mexico, 1904), I, 460 and II, 362. There are many corrupted forms of the name. For the history of pre-Spanish and early Spanish Mexico, see Prescott, *Conquest of Mexico*, Charles Cullen's translation into English of Francisco Saverio Clavigero, *Historia Antigua de Mexico*, editions of which were issued in London, 1787, Richmond, 1806, and Philadelphia, 1817.

322. *Vera Cruz*. Hakluyt (p. 174) says "and other 60 from Panuco to the Port of Vera Cruz," omitting the three words "and from Mexico." The city of Vera Cruz, the chief seaport of Mexico, is located on the southwest shore of the Gulf of Mexico, one hundred and ninety miles from Mexico. Being on low, sandy, and marshy ground, it was a menace to health until recently, but is now sanitary and a modern city. Many of its buildings and its wall are of coral rock. It has a population of over 50,000; and is chiefly a commercial city, although it has some manufacturing industries. It was first visited by Europeans by Juan de Grijalva and next by Cortés (April 21, 1519), who landed at the point called by the natives Chalchiuhuecan on April 22. Because this was Good Friday and because of the wealth of the district, Cortés named it "La Villa Rica de la Vera Cruz." It was the point of departure for the conquest of Mexico. In modern times it has also been a place of entry for hostile troops on more than one occasion.

323. *East*. Hakluyt (p. 174) says "Panuco to the North."

324. *Food*. "Inda q onestamente tiueram de comer." Translated by B. Smith (*Narratives*, p. 198): "particularly in respect of everything to eat."

325. *Tapile*. The proper form of the word is "topil" or "topile." It has the meaning of the Spanish word "alguazil," meaning "constable." It was early taken over into Spanish use. Ricardo del Castillo, *Los llamados Mexicanismos de la Academia Española* (Mexico, 1917), says (pp. 162-163) that the word is seldom used now in any state of Mexico. Eufemio Mendoza, *Apuntes para un Catálogo Razonado de las Palabras Mexicanas* (Mexico, 1872), p. 51, says it is used now only in a burlesque style. The word occurs in most of the Aztec dictionaries; e.g., Rémi Siméon, *Dictionnaire de langue Nahuatl ou Mexique* (Paris, 1885), p. 651.

326. *Meadows*. Hakluyt (p. 177) says: "it hath thinnne woods, and very goodly meadows upon the Riuers."

327. *Swamps*. Translated "lakes" by B. Smith (*Narratives*, p. 201).

328. *Northeast*. Hakluyt (p. 178) says wrongly "northwest."

329. *Daycao*. See *ante*, pp. 252-253, and note 276.

330. *Others*. Hakluyt (p. 178) says "from those that grow more eastward."

331. *Acorns*. Pecans. See *ante*, note 187.

332. *Ligoacam*. William B. Rye, in his edition of Hakluyt's translation of the *Relaçam: The Discovery and Conquest of Terra Florida* (London, 1851), conjectures that this may refer to the *Lignum Guaiacum* (see p. 169, note 1). From the description of the fruit, it is probable that this was the alligator pear or avocado (Spanish, "aguacate").

333. *Walnuts*. See *ante*, note 198.

334. *Black birds*. Rye (*ut supra*, p. 169, note 5) conjectures that this black bird may be the winter cow-bird, *Molothrus pecoris*.

335. *Coast*. Not necessarily true, but it happens that the Calusa Indians who dwelt about the southern part of the Florida Peninsula and among the keys were the fiercest Indians of that region. See Hodge, *Handbook of the American Indian* (Washington, 1907); and Samuel Cole Williams (ed.), *Adair's History of the American Indians* (Johnson City, Tenn., 1930).

336. *Infante*. A reference undoubtedly to Enrique (1512-1580), son of King Manoel, the Fortunate, a cardinal and archbishop of Braga, Lisbon, and Evora, and inquisitor general. He was proclaimed king of Portugal in 1578; in 1580 Portugal passed to Spain after the defeat of Don Antonio, the pretender, and did not regain its independence until 1640.